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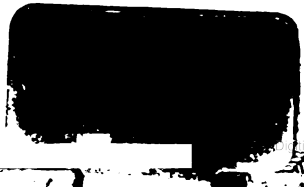

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What are - - - - - Indian States ?

B. S. Pathik.

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What are Indian States ?

WITH

Illustrative documents.

AN

Introduction to the study of the problem of Indian States and the real conditions of their People.

BY

B. S. Pathik,

Founder and President of The Rajasthan Seva Sangh;
Founder of Rajasthan Kesari and Tarun Rajasthan (Vernacular Weeklies); and Vice-Chairman of All India States' People's Conference.

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Foreword.

It is needless to write here about the object with which this book has been written. But the conditions and the peculiar circumstances in which it has been written deserve to be specially mentioned, especially for the reason that otherwise it is probable that the readers may not see their way to pardon me for the shortcomings and mistakes that might have remained in the book, inspite of my vigilance.

Before one month the idea of writing such a book did not exist even in my imagination. Of course even then I was not oblivious of my duties towards the question of Indian States that was looming large on the political horizon of India. On the contrary, I was thinking seriously as to what course should I adopt. It was at this juncture that I received a letter from one of my English sisters and friends Miss Hodson, who has often been a source of inspiration to me. She impressed upon me the necessity of writing such a book, as the present one, atonce which might tell the British public what the Indian States were ?

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She also wrote, "We know absolutely nothing about India in proper and that the majority of us are unaware that such divisions as the States even exist in India." In short her reasonings seemed to be so convincing that I atonce resolved to make an humble attempt in this direction. It also seemed desirable that it should be published as early as possible if it was to be of any use to the people of England as well as of India. But from that very day I was laid down with fever which continues even today. It was followed with other disturbing factors which cropped up unexpectedly. It is in these conditions that this book has been completed by devoting only some of the morning hours for two weeks. No doubt, though the most of what I have written and given about the conditions in Indian States is based on my personal observations and experience, yet it is probable that due to conditions given above and to the hot haste in which

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this book has been written and published, some inaccuracies and shortcomings might have crept in. I hope these reasons will suffice to enable the readers to pardon me and to read it sympathetically. Any suggestion regarding inaccuracies and mistakes will be gratefully received by the author.

At the same time I must also tell the readers that neither the treatment is an exhaustive one nor was it intended to make it so. My purpose is merely to present the conditions of the Indian States and their people, quite disinterestedly and impartially, before the public and also to ventilate the opinion of the people on what the Princes and the Government are doing in this connection. Historical evolution has been sketched only with a view to present facts in systematic chain and true perspective and to counteract and dispel the effects of the mischievous insinuations of Imperialistic diehards like Sir Harcourt Butler, who, only the other day unblushingly blurted

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out that India has always been under the despotic rule and that democracy was a western plant that can only be supplanted on the soil of India with the help of the foreigners.

I have also not been able to give the full treatment of the miserable conditions of the people of Indian States. But that was not my fault. In fact it was impossible to accomodate all the things within the compass of a small book like this. In short what I wish to impress is that the readers should treat this work only as an introduction to the study of the problems of the Indian States.

In the end I think it my duty to express my sense of gratitude and thanks from the bottom of my heart to my friend Mr. Gokul Lall Asawa for his help in bringing out this book. In fact, it is only due to his hard labour and exertions that I have been able to complete it so soon.

Rajasthan Publishing House,
AJMER.
Dated the 21st. July 1928.

Bijaisingh Pathik

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INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of this book is neither to sing pæans in eulogy of the Indian Princes nor to enquire into the relative merits of the glories or ignominies of their dynasties. My object is simply to focus the attention of the political world of India and England upon questions like these: What are the Indian States? How did they come into existence? How and to what extent they have influenced the destiny of this country? How did they enter into relations with East India Company and Great Britain? What vicissitudes they have passed through? What are their present conditions? What are their present demands? And what is their worth? Whether or not they are conducive to the interests of the people of India as a whole?

Moreover, such an endeavour becomes all the more necessary at the present juncture, when the

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question of the Indian States is agitating the minds of almost all thinking persons in India as well as in England. The Indian princes have made certain demands. They want their status, rights and privileges to be determined behind the back of their subjects. On the other hand, even the people of British India, what to say of England, betray a woeful ignorance about the states and their conditions. Some people in England even do not know whether there exist in India, certain parts known as Native States. This by no means exhausts this phase of the tale. The crowning absurdity of the whole thing is that even the people in progressive states in Southern India like that of Mysore etc, find it difficult to believe whether such inhuman barbarities, that are perpetrated in the States of Rajputana, Central India and the Punjab do actually take place under the protection, of the much praised "Mother of Parliaments."

But whether we choose to remain ignorant of and indifferent towards them, the states do exist and exist so as to form a political unit, exercising or having a greater potentiality to exercise the

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profound influence upon the political life and destiny of this country. Each one of them, if left to be misled by vested interests, can transform itself into a seperate Ulster in India and thus become a clog in the wheel of India's freedom; on the other hand each of them, if only its people were roused to self-consciousness, can fashion itself into another Ireland. That the Politicians of this country as well as of England should continue to ignore such a powerful unit and betray their ignorance even when matters have come to the present pass, is most deplorable. It is almost intriguing that the British public is asked to give its verdict on such a momentous problem as this, about which they know nothing and wherein they by their slightest mistake can do the greatest harm to the interests, not only of this country but also of all those countries which are enjoying independence or held in subjection, with the help of its resources and potentialities.

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CHAPTER I.

Ancient India and Asia.

Diverse views have been held and given currency to by vested interests regarding ancient India and Asia. One thing in particular has been dinned in season and out of season by our "benign" rulers and it is this, that Asia and especially India has always been under despotic rule and hence they have become inured to it. The idea of democracy is an exclusive product of occidental mind. Moreover, the destruction of the ancient literature of this continent by imperialistic groups who dominated this land in the medieval ages, and their claims to trace their descent from the very beginning of human history have furnished an easy opportunity to these imperial propogandists in their nefarious attempts to impress such pernicious doctrines upon the minds of the public. Fortunately for us, the literature of the different religions and clans especially Buddhistic literature and Jain sacred books, have preserved facts which are yet sufficient to conjure up before our minds the glorious picture of the republican institutions of those days.

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A considerable part of this literature also lies burried under the debris of the old towns and the recent excavations and explorations are slowly bringing it to light. But our object is to make this book as handy as is consistent with a full narration of all that is necessary. It is therefore impossible to include all the numerous facts which recent researches into antiquity have made available for us. But this is an undisputed fact that Imperialism as such was a later product in the history of India and Asia. There was a time when the whole of Asia was covered by primitive Republics. Every village or a group of villages was an independent republic by itself. Some of these were formed by special clans while the others were composed of all the classes living inside that territory. The author of the Mahabharat has beautifully depicted this condition in a couplet:—

न वै राज्यं न राजं च न च दण्डो न च दाण्डिकः ।
धर्मेणैवहि प्रजा सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्व परस्परम् ॥

which means—Neither there was any ruler nor any government, neither there was any Penal Code nor the administrator of it. All

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the people realising their social duties protected each other.

Democracies like these have been styled as "Gana Tantra" and "Sangha" in "Mahabharat,"* and in "Shanti Parva,†" Bhishma‡ has characterised each one of them as stronger than many of the kingdoms taken together. In many of these republics, there was no Government whatsoever, and none did owe alligience or pay revenue to any one else, and that is why each one considered it his duty to protect the republic.

No doubt afterwards people began to have blind faith in sprituality, and monarchy following in its wake came into vogue. But even then it was devoid of the pernicious notions of Imperialism as such. The kings of those times considered it as their prime duty to protect and serve their subjects and the subjects too understood their duties fully. Besides this, religion by this time had not become subservient to politics, the

* A sacred and historical scripture of Hindoos.

† A Chapter in Mahabharata.

‡ A great old man mentioned in the historical scriptures of Hindoos.

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preceptors of those times, held the scales even between the King and subjects. And for a time they discharged their sacred duties honestly and that is why it was possible in that period for the people to revolt successfully against the autocratic rulers like Ben.*

In short, Asia and specially India had already attained that height of perfection in political and social institutions for which the world today is groping in darkness. The people of this age were so discriminative, intelligent and peace loving that they required no government to manage their affairs. They used to govern themselves. None interfered in the legitimate rights and privileges of each other even though there was no government. None liked to make others slaves. All worked through mutual co-operation. Even in such a vast country as India, there were only a few cities to be found. Bartering was done through articles and not through coins, and that too to satisfy the needs and not to make bargain.

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* A despotic ruler mentioned in Bhagawat.

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The village was considered to be the owner of unclaimed or heirless property. Orphans and invalids were looked after by the village communities as a whole.*

No orders were obeyed by the people but through their own village headmen and elders. No one built forts. War in which trickery, hypocrisy and hoax were resorted to was considered by all as sinful. So many limitations were hedged round the war that it became well nigh impossible. For instance, war was only to be resorted to uphold justice, independence, righteousness and truth. It was to be resorted to by those only, who were equally strong, equally well versed in the art of warfare and equally well equipped in arms. There were to be no surprise attacks. The fight was to be open and above board. To hit below the belt was considered to be a sin. If the adversary felt thirsty he was to be first given time to drink, if he was tired he was to be given rest, etc., etc.,† That is why we do not find any mention of such

* See Village Communities *by Main.*

† See Mababharat.

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mean tactics like robbery, incendiarism, inhuman sacrifices, making of the forts etc, as done by our present Rajputs and other rulers. Of course, such obnoxious usages and tactics were found to be prevalent, as their history depicts, among Shakkas, Scythians and Tartars of Central Asia, and who were characterised as "Asuras" * in those days by Hindus for these very reasons. Undoubtedly later on, even this monarchy based on spiritual principles, began to be degenerated owing to the contagious contact of the above-mentioned Central Asian clans or tribes. It was at this juncture that Budhha came on the scene and once again the republican spirit was revived in the whole of India and Asia. Inspite of the opposition from one powerful faction he once more created that haven of divine bliss and happiness that has been described above. That is why the Chinese traveller named Fahian wrote, that "he could not find a single man in India who told lies" and that is why we find Bimlacharan Law writing in the

* Men having satanic tendencies and beliefs.

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following strain, "there was no hereditary sovereign, the power of the state being vested in the assembly of citizens, each of whom called himself a raja or a king. This form of government as described in the Budhist books was not rare in ancient India, there is ample evidence to show that in ancient India this form was much more in vogue than we are led to imagine from later literature; yet we must remember that Impeialism as such was a later product in India. In fact we do not come across any such thing before "Chandra Gupta Maurya"†

† The first Imperialist King of India.

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CHAPTER II.

The origin of the Indian states.

As has been already said, the seeds of Imperialism as such were imported into this country from Central Asia. The rulers coming from the middle east began with the help of their influence and authority, to propagate these nefarious doctrines. But the spread of Buddhism stood in their way. Foiled in their attempts, they, at last waited for a suitable opportunity. Fortunately for them, the Buddhist period also did not last long. Its influence and authority declined as suddenly and dramatically as it spread throughout the whole of Asia. Selfish imperialists, who were so long marking time, now raised their heads. 'Brahmanism' which had already become antagonistic to Buddhism, joined hands with the new comers. The followers of Buddhism were now dubbed as renegades and the very persons who were formerly characterised as '*Asuras*' were applauded to the skies. Many false and new religious formulas were manufactured and added into the original scriptures with a view to discredit the opponents. Even

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the people visiting Buddhist (Republican) centres were made to undergo penances.*

In short, in order to achieve their objects, they exploited in every way possible the religious sentiments of the people. Naturally as a result of the constant struggle of this sort the people lost all sense of discrimination and came to acquire communal bias. Now, to support their own party ends, no matter whether good or bad,

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*For instance, a couplet was manufactured and added into "Dewal Smriti" a sacred book of the Hindus, which reads thus:—

सिन्धु सौवीर सौराष्ट्रं तथा प्रत्यन्त वासिन:
कलिङ्ग कौंकणान् वंगान् गत्वा संस्कारमर्हति

(In the Smritinam Samuchchaya pbblished by Anandashram Granthawali Poona Couplet No. 16.)

It means that the persons visiting Sindh, Jesalmer, Kathiawar and provinces beyond them including Kaling Konkan and Bengal will have to undergo religious penances.

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was considered to be their chief duty. This state of affairs went on for hundreds of years. Those very preceptors who in former days, taught the people to worship and love democracy, now, due to religious bigotry, began to foster blind faith in the people for the autocratic kings of their own party or faction. The people were persuaded to support all their activities for imperialistic extention by giving them a religious hue. Nay, they taught the people to tolerate all such nefarious activities of theirs' like the looting and burning of villages, towns and cities and literature, desecrating the places of worship etc., etc. And be it noted that this went on not for a few days but for centuries. People seeing these scenes of desolation and depredations for many years became accustomed to overlook them.

Then came the turn of Jains. The same tyrannies were perpetrated upon them. When Brahmanism was nearing exhaustion the onrush of the mohomedans set in. They too, like Brahamins, had exploited the sentiments of their brethren, who originally belonged to a democratic religion, to further their imperialistic ends.

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Long before they attacked India they had destroyed many independent muslim republics of Arabia and Persia. Now, India became the battle ground of the two contesting imperialistic factions. Devoid, as both of these were, of true ancient religious instincts they left no barbarity or meanness which they did not inflict or practise upon each other or which were not given a religious garb to conceal its hideousness. Thus the people were taught to worship for hundreds of years those very things which they hated most. At first these things were styled as duties for emergencies. Then they were given the colour of general morality and finally they were given the status of religious duties. The readers can very well imagine that nothing was impossible, when for three thousand years such state of things went on, when, on one side, the people on account of the religious and communal warfare were deprived of the benefits of education and peace, on the other the best of the literature and history was continually being destroyed, and when finally the people were taught to follow the worst of all the principles. Where the worst barbarities

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were being given the religious sanctions, where dacoity was being given the name of bravery and where hypocrisy was made to pass for politics by the poets, the learned, and the preceptors for their selfish interests, what wonder, if as a result of this, congeries of independent principalities arose in this country and if people began not only to tolerate but also to adore them.*

* For reference please see:—

Hindu Polity *By* Jayaswal
Raj Tarangini *By* Kllahan.
Rajasthan *By* Tod.
The History of Rajputana *By* G. S. Ojha, Vol. I.

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CHAPTER III.

The advent of the English.

To understand adequately the present condtion of the Indian States, one must first know what was their condition on the eve of the coming of the English. And in order to do this well, one must direct his attention on the period just preceeding their arrival.

Every student of history is well familiar with the fact that no single dynasty amongst the Muslims ruled over India for a sufficient length of time. One dynasty was oftener than not, succeeded by the other, who after destroying its predecessors became the ruler of this country. The cries of muslim interests, religion or "Jahad" * were only invoked in order to enlist poor men in the army, but when the question of grabing of the lands of others came, it was thrown to the winds by these conquerors. As regards the people of this country, they having passed through 3000 years of such conditions, had already become accustomed

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* War to defend religion.

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to treat such things with a look of indifference. For them, it was an ordinary and natural course of life.

It was only Akbar the great who laid the secure foundation of his Empire. But then Aurangzeb began to dig its grave. His bigotry and crooked policy at last bore their friuts. His tyrannies in India gave birth to two strong powers; one the Mahratta movement initiated by Shivaji to re-establish the Hindu Empire, and the other, the Khalsa organization of the Sikhs founded on a sort of spiritual Socialism. They gained strength day by day and by the time of Bahadur Shah* they became so much powerful that there was nothing to dispute their sway in the whole of India. The sovereignty of the Mughals† now remained only in name over the certain territories of Delhi, Bengal and Oudh. Here it must be borne in mind that the Indian princes generally did not receive good treatment

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* The last Muslim Emperor of Delhi.

† Muslim.

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at the hands of Mughal Emperors except in certain matters. They were required to stand for a long time in their Durbars. Their claim of being independent rulers was never admitted by the Mughals who exercised all the rights of succession and deposition etc, just as British Government does. Of course, they (Princes) could maintain armies, could negotiate treaties and also could bestow Jagirs* and honours on their subjects as they can do today.

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* Feudal lands.

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CHAPTER IV.

The internal organisation of the States.

Here it seems essential to throw some light upon the then internal organisation of the states, because it, as it exists today, presents very little change as far as its essential features are concerned. Moreover it will help us in understanding the latest phases of its development. From the very beginning in each Indian state we have five principal divisions, viz:—

(1) A big portion of it under the preceptors which they acquired as gift.

(2) Another big portion under the Jagirdars* which they obtained in return of their special services to the states in times of emergency or as a result of special favour conferred upon them.

(3) A small portion of it is under the bards, artists, and historians which they got by way of special favour or as a rule for

* Feudatories.

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discharging their duties as propagandists and historians.

(4) That portion of land which was occupied by the feudatory chiefs who at first were independent but who afterwards being unable to protect themselves in the troublous times accepted the suzerenity of some big prince.

(5) The portion belonging to the prince and directly governed by him.

In all these five divisions each one had the right to levy taxes on land and to impose new taxes on the subjects, under their respective control and to spend the revenue at their own free will. Big jagirdars and important personages possessed political as well as judicial powers. Their dignity and rank were regulated according to the rights and privileges they enjoyed.

* * * * *

Now coming to the people, of the states, they generally fell into four groups. The highest group was that of the peasants. Agricultural labourers and artisans formed the second group. The third

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included the merchants and the fourth consisted of the middle classmen of whom state officials and servants formed the majority. The last two groups were generally not big. There were no rigid laws for the subjects. There were no restrictions on the freedom of speech, writing, associations and actions. There were some sort of permanent regulations for land tax and customs duty etc. and, they were observed as a matter of course. No doubt that just as there were no restrictions imposed on the elementary rights of the people, similarly, there were no checks upon the unlimited powers of the princes and the jagirdars. But the times were such that the princes and the jagirdars had always to look for the support of their people. And even though, they (the people) had become the high priests of monarchy on account of the influence of the religious prejudices and communalism, yet by taking part in the struggles which were then common, they were strong enough to destroy the power of their state, either by revolting themselves or by helping some enemical prince against him. The instance of the successful rebellion on the part of the subjects, jagirdars and the feudatory chiefs

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against Sirajuddaula may be cited, A more striking and recent illustration of this can be found in the so-called mutiny of 1857, in which the whole population of the country, forgetting for the time its religious differences rose suddenly, exasperated by the inhuman atrocities of the 'Company.'

All these things no doubt exercised some healthy influence upon the minds of the rulers. Owing to the absence of the modern machinery, commercial rivalry and exploitation, the trade conditions were also not such, as to exert any undesirable or pernicious influence on the then social structure of the society. In those times, from the levying of the land-tax wages of the labourers, to the commercial transactions all were done through barter. The use of coins was rare. Besides this, owing to the prevailing custom of not selling the milk and such other articles and the indispensability of the use of the cattle in riding, farming etc.; all sorts of cattle were bred. All facilities were provided for, by the state for the maintenance, improvement and training of the pet animals. These

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provided independent occupation to hundreds of thousands of poor men and sufficient manures and free pastures to the cultivators. So much so, that in most of the states there was no forest dapartment meant for exploitation. In the same way, also there being no margin for such gain the tradesmen at every centre tried their best to improve and specialize any particular industry. in order to facilitate its export. In fact the point is that in those days each could engage himself in some or other kind of work easily in order to satisfy his needs. Moreover he could get proper facilities for that. Owing to the absence of the railways and the present conditions they had neither to taste the bitter fruits of the dearth as we see at the present time, nor to feel the scarcity of the necessities of life like that of ghee, milk, bread, and clothes. Neither they were harassed by the petty officials Because, in those days it were the elders of each village, who legislated and administered the executive and the judiciary of their village generally and not the State*

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* See *Empire in Asia* Ch. VIII

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CHAPTER V.

The Treaties

From the political point of view the period of the rule of the East India Company and the Crown can be divided into five periods, viz :—

(1) The period from 1760 to 1808 A. D. in which the Company wanted peace for its own sake and all the treaties concluded in that period were made with that object in view.

(2) The first half of the 19th Century in which large schemes of imperial extention dawned upon its horizon.

(3) Second half of the 19th Century in which the policy of making the states powerless, while maintaining their seperate existence and nominal sovereignty was adopted.

(4) The last decade of the 19th century in which the government, alarmed at the new awakening in India adopted the

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policy of capturing the machinery of the government in the States through its agents and lent officers etc.,—in other words, of establishing its indirect rule in the states.

(5) Lastly the period in which the scheme to utilize the powers and resources of the Indian States, in order to hold India under its grip, was forged.

We have already dealt with the first period. It has been shown that the conditions of the princes and their subjects were different at different places. At some the princes and the people were dissatisfied with the prevailing conditions and at others the princes were compelled to conclude treaties by subteranian methods. But the key-note of its policy was to maintain peace and to see that nothing was done to jeopardise its interests. The reasons are obvious enough. For, firstly, the Company was struggling for its existence. Moreover, the Frenchmen were also trying their level best to hoist the flag of their supremacy over India. They instigated the people against the Company and helped

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them. Therefore the Company was compelled in its own self-defence to conclude certain alliances. The following quotation from a letter of Marquis Wellesely, addressed to Tippo Sultan will throw a flood of light on the mentality working in that period. The letter says:—

"Your Highness and we are excellent friends, therefore we are jealous of our love. The French are unreliable republicans, we know them better than you do. They will teach your Musalmans democracy if you let them near you, in friendship we cannot allow this. They will undermine your throne, surely it were better to suffer us to pull it down than that we should witness your dishonour. They will preach infidelity,..... think of your poor soul or if you will not think of it, we must, and remit it from a wicked world, ere its faith is staggered by the jests of Voltair or the sophistries of Russeau. And when you are gone before your time to your account, we will look-after the bodies and souls of your people. We may possibly establish a Diocese, or atleast appoint a bishop of Mysore:— that is our way. But fear no compulsion for conscience's sake from us. It

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is only fellow christians, we persecute, temples and mosques may remain for us to the end of time, provided we get the temporalities into our hands. Nay, sooner than behold the scandal of French principles being introduced among your people, we are ready to turn tax—gatherers to †Mohammad, or Bramha or both, and willing to beat idols, drums and fire salutes in honour of Vishnu or Jagannath ‡ if you will only let us into Seringpattam."*

The treaties made at this time also betray the same mentality. The treaties concluded in that period, as for instance, with the Nizam Scyndia and Alwar etc.; contained stipulations to make treaties with other princes independently. Besides no limitations were imposed on the maintenance of the armies. In fact the dominant note of the policy was its reciprocity.§

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* The Marquis of Wellesley's despatches vol. I. No. X. c. 6

† The prophet of Islam.

‡ The names of Hindoo Gods.

§ *For reference please also see* the history of Kerala by K. P. Padmanabh Menon page 338. The treaties with the Subedar of Hyderabad, the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, and the Nawab of Arcot.

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* * * * *

As soon as, the fear of French intrigue and French supremacy was gone, after the defeat of Dupleix, the East India Company embarked upon the policy of imperial expansion. Now there was no question of mutual friendship and alliance with the princes. The treaties of subordinate alliance were made along with the treaties of 'mutual alliance'. These treaties were marked by three special features. Firstly, it (Company) required its allies to surrender the rights of negotiation with other states. Secondly, the troops provided by the Company for the protection or help were to be paid by the states. Thirdly, the allied states were required to, pay some fixed sum as tribute or, defray the expenses of the subsidiary forces, maintained for their protection. In short, now the Company had advanced from the position of primus interpares to an assertion of superiority.

To illustrate what we have said, let us cite the following clause which was secretly added

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to the treaty already made with the Nizam. It says:—

"No correspondence on the affairs of importance shall in future on any account be carried on with the sirkar of Rao Pandit Pradhan or with any of his dependents, either by the Nawab or by Asafjah Bahadur or by the Hon'ble Company's government without the mutual privity and consent of both contracting parties."

The following from the treaty made with the Nawab Vazir Shujauddaula of Oudh will also reveal the mentality working in that period:—

"In case of the dominions of H. H. Shujauddaula, at any time hereafter be attacked..... ..... The East India Company shall assist him with the part or whole of its forces. In case of the English Company's forces having employed in His Highness' service, the extra ordinary expenses of the same to be defrayed by him."*

Atchison's Treaties and Sanads 4th ed: 1909.

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Now, as regards the paying of money for the maintainance of the subsidiary troops in the territories of the states by the company for their protection, the following from the treaty concluded with the Nizam will do:—

"With a view to fulfil this treaty of general defence and protection His Highness the Nawab Asaphajah agrees that two battalions and one regiment of cavalry with a due proportion of guns and artillery men shall be added in perpetuity of the present permanent subsidiary force of six battalions of sepoys of one thousand firelocks each, and one regiment of cavalry five hundred strong (with their proportion of guns and artillery men), so that the whole subsidiary force furnished by the Hon'ble the East India Company to His Highness, shall henceforward consist of eight battalions of sepoys (or eight thousand firelocks) and two regiments of cavalry (or one thousand horses) with their requisite complements of guns, European artillerymen

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lascars and pioneers fully equipped with warlike stores and ammunition, which force is to be stationed in perpetuity in His Highness' territories.

The pay of the above mentioned additional force shall be caculated at the rate of the existing subsidiary force and shall commence from the day of the entrance of the said additional force into His Highness,' territories."

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CHAPTER VI.

Subordinate isolation

But, like all powers desiring to establish an Empire, the East India Company now felt that it was impossible for it to keep the States under its subjection while they were really independent. Therefore it adopted the policy of subordinate isolation in order to gain its objective, viz, to reduce them to dependent States and thus to have a smooth sailing in extending its influence and power. To explain and illustrate it better we will cite only the following treaty which is a typical one:—

The Udaipur Treaty

Treaty between the Honourable the English East India Company and Maharana Bheemsingh Rana of Udaipur, concluded by Mr. Theophilus... Metcalfe on the part of the Hon'ble Company in virtue of full powers granted by His Excellency the most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, K. C. Governor General and Thakur Ajeetsingh on the part of Maharana in virtue of full powers conferred by the Maharana aforesaid.

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Article 1.

There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests between the two states from generation to generation and the friends and enemies of one shall be friends and enemies of both.

Article 2.

The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Udaipur.

Article 3.

The Maharana of Udaipur will always act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy and will not have any connection with other Chiefs or States.

Article 4.

The Maharana of Udaipur will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or states without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government, but his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations will continue.

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Article 5.

The Maharana of Udaipur will not commit aggressions upon any one and if by accident a dispute arises with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Article 6.

One fourth of the revenues of the actual territory of Udaipur shall be paid annually to the British Government as tribute for five years; and after that term three-eighths in perpetuity. The Maharana will not have any connection with any other power on account of tribute, and if any one advance claims of that nature the British Government engages to reply to them.

Article 7.

Whereas the Maharana represents, that portions of the dominions of Udaipur have fallen by improper means into the possession of others and solicits the restitution of those places, the British Government from want of accurate information is not able to enter into any

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positive engagement on this subject, but will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the state of Udaipur and after ascertaining the nature of each case will use its best exertions for the accomplishment of that object on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the state of Udaipur by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenue shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government.

Article 8.

The troops of the state of Udaipur shall be furnished according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government.

Article 9.

The Maharana of Udaipur shall always be absolute ruler in his own country and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced in that principality.

Article 10.

The present treaty having been concluded at Delhi and signed and sealed by mr. Charles

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Thiophilus Metcalfe and Thakur Ajeetsingh Bahadur the ratifications of the same by His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor General and Maharana Bheemsingh shall be mutually delivered within a month from this date.

(Signed.) C. T. Metcalfe.

(Signed.) Thakur Ajeetsingh

(Signed.) Hastings.

Ratified by His Excellency the Governor General this 22nd day of January, 1818 in camp Oocher.

(Signed.) J. Adam.

Secretary to the Governor-General.

* * * *

The matter by no means ended here. After the arrival of Lord Hastings in 1813 this policy assumed still more alarming aspects. To exact money from the Princes, to annex their territories on small pretexts or to curtail their rights and powers became the feature of everyday experience. The result was that on the one hand,

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the treasuries of the states became empty and on the other hand, to meet these demands of the company the people were taxed more and more by the native rulers.

Moreover, the officials of the company resorted to meaner of the meanest tactics in their dealings. The treaties were thrown to the winds and many territories were annexed without any reason or rhyme. The result was that almost in all the parts of the country the fire of discontent flared up. Though at this time the Company's awe and influence had considerably increased and almost all the States of Rajputana, Central India, Gujrat and Kathiawar, numbering some 300, had come under its sway, yet it failed to checkmate the growth of discontent among the Sikhs, Mahrattas and the people at large.....resulting from its highhandedness. So much so, that in 1817 a notorious robber of Rajputana named Amir Khan with the help of the Pindaris * brought a big portion of Rajputana under his subjection, and the Pindaris for a time atleast carried their

* A community of plunderers.

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depredations to such an extent that Hastings could not enjoy peaceful nights. This was due, not because they were powerful by themselves but because they received help from some of the Mahratta States and people in general. At last, the Company yielded to his might. They accepted him as the ruler of the conjured territory, now known as Tonk State; on the condition that he will stop plundering, disband his army and will help the Company with all his resources at his disposal when necessary. Some of the petty Chiefs and Talukedars of Kathiawar troubled the Company so much that it felt the necessity to treat them like members of criminal tribe. They were ordered by the company to furnish securities and sureties to pay their tribute at the proper time, to maintain peace and order within their territories, and to keep good behaviour. The Cutch too, became to be ruled by two rival Chiefs and the company was compelled to conclude treaties with both of them seperately.

The people had generally thought that the lessons of the Pindaris and the discontent in general would not be forgotten by the Company

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so soon. But they were soon disllusioned. Lord Bentick and Lord Dalhousie, who came after him, ruled the country more high-handedly. If they created certain new states they also blotted out the names of many states from the map of India. The matters came to such a pass that in the words of Mr. W. M. Torrense M. P. "Every native prince, whether he called himself independent or protected believed-and believed with reason that every act of his, calculated, however remotely, to remind his nobles or his people of better days gone by, was certain to be regarded as covetiously treacherous or threateningly hostile by all the advisers of Paramount power. (269) .. the consequence of hand to mouth policy of fiscal exactions and territorial encroachment, weigh upon his pay and tongue by day and trouble his sleep by night. The field committed to his care, which he would have sown with the seeds of contentment, confidence and gratitude, he seems doomed to bring facts, suspicion, anger, hatred, and the mute looking faces for a day of restitution. And his grief, if he be a true man, true to honour of his race, his creed and his country, is that his

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hand should, in spite of himself be used to withhold good and to scatter and broadcast the pestiferous seeds. (413) *

Yet there would have been some consolation, had such a treatment been confined to the princes alone. But this was not to be. The greedy servants of the company harassed the people to their hearts content. Instead of affording protection to their property or person, they turned tax gathering business in to legalised looting. The result was that whole of the country was much agitated and perturbed. It appeared, as if it was the will of Providence that was working through the Company to once more kindle the smouldering fire of independence in this tyrrany-ridden country.†

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* See the *Empire in Asia.*

† For reference, see Lee Warner.—*Native states of India.*, PANNIKKAR.—*The Indian States and the Government of India*, TORRENSE.—*Empire in Asia.*

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CHAPTER VII.

The first war of Independence.

At last, the smouldering fire of discontent transformed into the huge conflagration of a countrywide conspiracy. In every province of India, men saturated with the notions of freedom organised societies to drive out the English with bag and baggage. Members of these societies spread far and wide in villages and cities and they fanned the smoothered feelings of enmity and hatred against the English. At each place people were persuaded to organise themselves into societies and to collect war materials. For the sake of these preparations many of the societies and persons had to undergo unbearable hardships and sufferings. Many, though they inherited big Jagirs and wealth, without any consideration of future gains or losses, began to take part whole-heartedly in this unforgetful war of independence. Many offered their very income at the feet of the mother and many their very life. But the very back-bone of this rising were those young men who threw themselves heart and soul in

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the cause of rebellion. They with their undauntable courage and self-sacrifice, living only on a handful of grams and some times living even without food, travelled far and wide and inspired the people of the villages to rise against the English. They appealed every one, irrespective of their caste, creed or religion to gather together round the rising banner of independence and emancipate the motherland from the thraldom of slavery. Undaunted by failures and successes, by contumlies or compliments, they stuck to their guns and at last succeeded in rallying the country for one war-cry.

One more factor which contributed to its success was, that many princes and wealthy personages had full sympathy with the movement and some gave their whole-hearted support and co-operation. But the young ring-leaders of the revolution also committed the same mistake which has been repeated many times in human history. Any big prince or wealthy person who came forward to give his help with whatever motive, was given the reins of local revolutionary organisation. It did not even strike to them that

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such communities and classes in which selfish motives naturally predominate, can easily fall from the high pedestal which they were now made to occupy.

But that is by the way. At last the revolution began. In such a vast country like India, where there were no modern means of communication and transport people were organised so well, that if everywhere the revolts would have been all simultaneously at the right moment, and if its supporters would have stuck to the last, and would not have betrayed, the history of Modern India would have been written differently. But unfortunately, one more mistake was committed. Here again the people were so much exasperated by the high-handedness of the Company, that they could not keep themselves in proper bounds with the result that some of the forces of Bengal started the revolution a little earlier than the proper time. People of other places also became impatient and whoever among them heard about this joined the revolution, without waiting for the proper hour. Therefore, it could not be properly managed,

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directed and guided. Yet the revolution was extremely far wide and terrible. In the big provinces like U. P. and Bihar British Raj for the time-being ceased to exist. There, even in villages the Britishers could with great difficulty get shelter. All including military men and townsmen joined the revolution. The other provinces would have done the same thing, had the Company not given some promises and baits and had the princes not betrayed the people due to their inherent cowardice and selfishness. They in the South, where they held the reins of the local revolutionary forces, discouraged and suppressed it. Similarly, the princesof the Punjab sent their forces to help the Company. Several princes refused their help or made excuses at the psychological moment, even though they had promised to do so Then how could U. P. lag behind. It also produced some traitors and most of the States and Zamindaries which we see there today owe their existence to that treachery. The Kashmir ruler even went so far as to execute the revolutionists that went there for shelter.

But our object here is not to write the history of the revolution. If we have written so much

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about this, it is only because it has certain close bearings with the State. For the States as usual at first favoured the revolution in order to further their own interests but subsequently, instead of rendering it help they did everything to crush it. Poor Bahadurshah* tried in vain to persuade the other princes to take up the leadership of innumerable revolutionary forces that had collected in Delhi. And atlast it were they who gained by the rebellion. For, it was only as a result of this rising that, many new States came into existence and the administration of India passed into the hands of Queen Victoria, who issued the following proclamation : —

"Whereas for diverse weighty reasons, we have resolved to take upon ourselves the Government of India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honorable East India Company, we do by those presents notify and declare that we have taken upon ourselves the said Government and we hereby call upon all our *Subjects* within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegience to us, our heirs and successors.

* The last and nominal Emperor of Delhi in those days.

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We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observations on their parts. We desire no extension of our territorial possessions and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honor of Native Princes as our own.

We hold ourselves bound to the *Natives* of our *Indian territories by the same obligations of duty* which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessings of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

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CHAPTER VIII.

The change in Policy.

Naturally, after the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, the policy of the Government towards the Native States underwent a striking change. Now the annexation of the territories was definitely ruled out. The Government assured them of Her Majesty's desire to see their rule perpetuated. This should not lead one to think that the Britishers were the real friends of the States (Princes) or they did it because they were pleased with their direct and prominent part in helping the British authorities at the time of the mutiny. They did it simply because it seemed to serve their interests best. As for example, they saw (in fact they knew) that the annexations of the States give the people of the Native States, the same elementary rights, and constitutional position as enjoyed by them and thus they can easily agitate and oppose them, when necessary. Moreover they knew that the Princes can be easily duped simply by conferring upon them false and showy prerogatives and by

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touching their personal vanity and hence it was no use annexing their territories.

Therefore while they resolved to perpetuate their rule, they also at the same time adopted a policy, which would continually weaken their power, and create a gulf between them and their subjects and which, would not allow them to become self-reliant. In order to achieve these objectives, they resorted to new tactics. What was not there in the treaties was now introduced by way of usages and conventions by taking advantages of special occasions. And what was considered to be the permanent source of yielding good revenue was taken under its hands-viz: the monopoly of salt, whose general utility can not be questioned was taken in its own hands. For this purpose special treaties were concluded with each state ordaining thereby, that in future no one will be allowed to manufacture salt in their respective territories. The same thing can be said of opium monopoly. These deprived the millions of Indian State's people not only of the art of manufacturing salt, but also of their independent sources of livelihood.

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Besides these, the following points and devices need special mention :—

(1) To exact tribute from each State or in its lue to keep Subsidiary Forces under the English officers in the State territories at the expense of the state.

(2) Not to allow the States to maintain belligerent and up-to-date armies.

(3) To limit the strength even of the forces kept for State processions and grandeur.

(4) To prohibit the free manufacture or sale of the modern arms, ammunition and military stores in the territories of the States.

(5) To construct, somehow or other, railways and roads in the territories of the States where the Government may think it necessary.

(6) To establish cantonments within the territories of the States.

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(7) To require the States to give every facility for the provision of supplies and articles required for the troops. While passing through their teritories.

(8) To establish a Residency in the State territory just near the capital at the expense of the State.

(9) To regard the limits of the Residency as British territory.

(10) The annual touring of the Residents and Political agents as a rule in State territories.

(11) To force the States to accede special privileges to European British subjects and to all persons of the other independent countries.

(12) To try to secure the contracts of the mines etc, for the Englishmen.

(13) To impart such an education to the minor chiefs so as to make them nothing but mere fops, debauch, tyrant and lover of European fashion, luxuries and decorations.

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(14) To increase the spread of British goods in the States through the Residents and other lent officers, and to crush the local trade and industries.

(15) To throttle and to help in throttling of public life in the States.

(16) To take a certain portion of the State on lease or some other excuse and to keep it as long as possible under different pretexts.

(17) The acceptance of valuable presents by the Viceroys and Political Agents and thus to foster the sentiments of flattery and bribery.

(18) To do everything regarding the States and the Political Department in camera.

(19) To provide the State at its own expense with British troops even to suppress peaceful rising of the people, but never to help the public.

(20) To ordain, that every succession or adoption must be recognised by the Government.

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(21) To take influential public men and Jagirdars of the States under the protection of the British Government.

(22) Not to allow any prince to employ any Europeans without the previous sanction of the British Government.

(23) To make the States pay higher salaries to the officers which are lent to them from time to time by the British Government.

(24) To order any ruler to consult the opinion of the Resident in the matters relating to internal administration.

(25) To affect no tangible reform and give no share to the people in the administration of the States, even when a ruler is deposed on the ground of gross misrule, or due to minority etc., a Regency is established in which British Government take up the reins of the State directly in its own hands.

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(26) To introduce British jurisdiction in the States by controlling Railways, posts and telegraphs and telephones in their territories directly.

(27) To stop their independent coinage and currency.

(28) To make loyalty to British Government obligatory and essential for all the princes alike.

(29) Assuming wardship and arbitration in all the matters including education etc.

The implications of all these usages and conventions are too obvious to be misunderstood. They have gradually not only created and established a universal political code applicable to all the States alike and thus brought them all into a single group of vassal States but have also helped the extention of Imperial authority and jurisdiction to the remotest corners of the territories tabooed by itself. But to be clearer, let us expatiate a little more on some of the points sketched above.

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The 2nd, 3rd, 12th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th need hardly any explanation.

The 1st, 5th and 7th.

Now to begin with the 1st, 5th and 7th, they clearly mean the sapping of the economic resources of the states, the maintenance of the army to be used against those very princes and people if necessary at whose expense it is maintained, and the maintaining of the more forces than shown in the military-budget of India.

The 4th.

The object of the 4th safeguard is also plainly to emasculate the Indian princes and their people both.

The 5th and 7th.

The principal objective of the 5th and 7th is strategic. But they also serve, and are at times meant to give impetus to British exports and give facility for the export of any special commodity in a particular area.

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The 8th.

As regards the 8th, we do not think our words shall explain it better than those of the following quotations. The first of them is from W. M. Torrense M. P. who says:—

"Lord Wellesley's purpose in pursuading the native governments to maintain within their confines bodies of British troops.....was too obvious to be mis-conceived.....it was to be a guarantee against the development of schemes hostile to English interests and the growth of English ascendency. Under the direction of an intelligent Resident at the native court, a compact force, well armed, well paid, and well-in-hand would render sudden tumult abortive and cause secret ....intrigue to waver continually..... .....and in the least event it would from a rallying point for any friends it had and out-post capable of defence till succour should arrive."

The second is from Lord Moria, who says:—

"Then we sent Residents in their courts. Instead of acting in the character of ambassadors

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they assumed the functions of dictators, interfered in all private concerns, countenanced the refractory against them, and made the most ostentatious exhibition of the exercise of authority."

Moreover, the Residency serves the purpose of secret service department and also as a base of Imperial propoganda.

The 10th.

The aim of the 10th is not only to seek fresh chances for British trade in the outlying districts of the states but also to remind the public of the might and supremacy of the Government from time to time.

The 11th.

The 11th is evidently meant to give, on the one hand, foreigners a free hand in the exploitation of the economic and other resources of the states and on the other hand, to deprive, the people of India in general and of the States in particular of all these advantages. Moreover, it must be noted that though these special concessions and privileges are meant for all foreigners, yet, in fact, due to the

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limitations imposed upon the princes regarding their dealings with the foreigners it is the Britishers alone who enjoy the lion's share.

The 15th.

But 15th is solely meant for crippling the powers of the people of the States.

The 16th.

The 16th is also a bait with a hook in it. With its help the princes can be made to dance to the tunes of the British Government easily. Morever, the restoration of these territories by the Government at any time to gain its purpose can be affected even without any reference to Indian Legislature.

The 18th.

The 18th, not only keeps the public in dark about the matters which affect their interests, but also deprives them of discussing such matters and expressing any opinion thereon. On the other hand, through this the rulers, being backward in politics, are easily forced to accept any dictation from the Political Department.

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The 19th.

As a result of the 19th the princes do not hesitate to perpetrate any barbarity on the people.

The 20th.

The 20th, in other words means that none except the one who will act as a mere puppet in the hands of the Government, can secure the Government of the State in question for himself.

The 21st.

The 21st is the nearest handle to create parties in the States and thus be benefited by them

The 22nd.

The 22nd on the one hand, deprives the princes from the best help and use that they can get and make of competant foreigners, on the other hand, it deprives foreigners other than the Britishers, from enjoying the full advantages of the extra territorial rights that are conferred upon them by the constitution.

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The 23rd.

The 23rd tantamounts to vieled rule in the states, though indirectly.

The 24th.

Similarly the 24th destroys what little interest and the sense of responsibility in the administration of the state, the prince possesses inspite of all the above mentioned difficulties and evils and automatically makes him an extravagent and irresponsible despot.

The 25th.

The 25th makes it abundantly clear that the British Government neither wants any reform in the States nor the growth of public life and opinion among the people of the States. It wants to keep them like so many safe preserves for Imperial purposes.

This policy naturally resulted in what was expected. On account of the ruthless repression after the mutiny and the way in which thousands of innocent men were hanged, butchered, and burnt to death in the houses and villages,* for a

* See "The other side of the Meddal."

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time at least in India no political movement could be noticed. As for the rulers of the States, they, due to their biased angles of vision, had lost interest in the general politics of the country almost long before the so-called mutiny. The new situation relieved them even from that iota of responsibility of thinking about their country and politics which the previous situation had left in them. Now, for them there was no fear of loosing their dominions on account of the internal discontent. The Policy of annexation, which caused anxiety in the minds of the princes was also now given up. The fear of external aggression too was gone. On the other hand they came under the grip of fashion and luxury which was also encouraged by the Government. So, fondness for new things, decorations and luxuries now became the principal features of their daily life. May all other things go to wall, their only aim now was to win the favours of the Political Agent. Naturally these all things led to increase in expenditure which again led to fresh impositions and exactions. On the other hand, on account of dumping of the market by foreign goods and lack of encouragement and support to local industries, the people became poorer day by day.

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CHAPTER IX.

Re-awakening.

At last, India which after mutiny seemed to be dead and inert, once more showed signs of re-awakening at the end of the 19th century. And it was that awakening that gradually manifested itself in the famous Swadeshi movement of 1905. No doubt the people having passed through these milestones of slavery for about a generation had cut-a-drift from all political thoughts and actions. Slavery had become tolerable to them. Their eyes were dazzled by the false glamour of western fashion and civilization. Thus the people in general, had come to reconcile with their lot. But at least the Hindu community in this country was a race of born revolutionaries. It could not be kept in darkness for ever. Not a single period in the history of its long existence and continuity can be found in which any new thought or movement failed to find followers from it. Nay, in the last few centuries this zeal overstepping its bounds had reached to such an absurd length that it began to ally with any belief whether desirable or otherwise.

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But that is by the way. The agitation went on growing powerful. So much so that authorities got alarmed and sought to repress it by ruthless repression. But the awakening was not a superficial one. It had gone deep and stirred the soul of the country to its very depth. That is why inspite of the heartless repression it received sympathy from every nook and corner of the country. Even some of the princes lent their support to it.

And how could bureaucracy tolerate this? It also became vigilant. And Sir John Malcolm let the cat out of the bag when he said "Their object henceforth should be to introduce indirect rule and jurisdiction in the states." And though the Government repeatedly repudiated this yet it has been following it as closely in actions as it was possible for any shrewd yet ill-situated bureaucracy. With a view to entice them into the trap so mischivously laid, it encouraged and agreed to help them in swallowing the lands of Jagirdars and on the other hand, it began to lend its officers in great numbers. Much care and influence was exercised in matters relating to

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adoption etc, also. The Moloch of interference rode rough-rod over any prince who betrayed signs of free and independsnt thinking. They were coerced to accept dictations from the Political Department and only God knows what would have happened had the war not broken out in the mean time, which compelled the bureaucracy to abondon its policy for the time-being.

Now the princes were asked to give help in the war. They were fed on the same illusions as the people were. And fed as they were on false hopes, they began to dance to their tunes. Subscriptions were forcibly realised from the people who were already dying of starvations. Those who refused to pay were punished heavily, were made to stand in the scorching rays of the sun and stones were laid on their heads. Their relatives were harassed. People at large made several representations but in vain. The bureaucracy whose officers in districts of British India molested women in order to collect money and soldiers and who misused their rights and privileges in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people, could not be

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expected to listen to the grievances of the people of the Indian states.*

However, at last the war came to an end and the people heaved a sigh of relief. Now all anxiously waited for the promised rewards, but instead got the Jallianwala tragedy. The people naturally got much excited and purturbed at this. And this threw the gate open for the advent of the Non-cooperation movement. The Mohmedans being generally fanatics were also highly perturbed on account of the treaty of Versselies and the khilafat wrongs and so this additional discontent worked as fuel in the fire of political unrest.

The Government at that time tried to allay this discontent by throwing the cold waters of the Reforms of 1919. But it could not succeed. The people had now developed sufficient political sagacity and consciousness and therefore could well see through the game. They knew and believed that the acceptance of the sham reforms when the Rowlat act and the Punjab wrongs were already there would tantamount to an insult to the nation.

* See *Congress-Enquiry Report of the Punjab.*

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The people of the Indian States had also entertained some hopes. But when they saw that they had no place in the Reform-scheme they too became discontented. They also started a peaceful agitation against the *Begar* and other barbarities prevailing in their States. To their credit, let it be said, that they remained wonderfully peaceful inspite of all the provocations given to them by the States. They continued passive resistance for several years at different places. They in thousands courted arrests, confinement and other atrocities common in Indian States, and as a result, many of them lost their lives and property. Many had to leave their homes for ever, yet the authorities could not prove a single case of violence against them. But who cared for their non-violent or violent attitude.

In British India there existed public opinion, newspapers, constitution and wealthy and influential leaders to back any movement. But the people in the Indian States had nothing of this sort except helplessness. That is why the British Government despatched its troops on a mere requisition from the princes without considering even its propriety

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or otherwise. And what were the consequences? For a mere peaceful agitation, and at many places on slightest pretexts and false reports, thousands of peasants were destroyed, their houses were burnt, their wives and children were left to wander as helpless beggars* and the workers in the cause of Indian States, who started an agitation were dubbed as Bolsheviks, and in order to supperess them all British laws and regulations were thrown to winds.

* * * * *

But nothing could diminish the fury and growth of non-co-operation movement. It went on increasing day by day and in 1920–21 it reached to such a climax that even the Government began to number its days of existence.

Before this the Government had only learnt from the past history of India that caste system in the Hindus and religious fanaticism among the Muslims were the two vulnerable points in the Indian character.

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*"See *The Second Bhil Tragedy*" Published by Rajasthan Seva Sangha Ajmer.

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Almost all the Imperialists, had fed and exploited these weaknesses and though the Indian people had been subjected in their long history of existence to much humiliation and severe oppression on account of these weaknesses yet they have not been able to shake them off. The Government like others relied on and believed in the utility and exploitation of these weaknesses of Indian people. That is why in order to nourish and foster these sentiments it has not only perverted our history and literature but also our educational system. For instance, the Hindus were always taught to look upon the Muslims as aggressors and vice versa, and thus seperatist tendencies were encouraged. In short it had thought that by the policy of *Divide et empera* between the Hindus and Muslims it would be able for a long time to maintain its hold over India. But the non-co-operation movement gave a rude shock to all such cherished illusions. And consequently they began to feel that a time was not far distant when Hindus and Muslims could unite for a common purpose. Therefore the British Government began to think that if they wanted to keep India and its inexhaus-

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tible resources under their perpetual grip, then they must forge another instrument to check and impede the rising tide of freedom's movement.

That is why its policy towards the Native States has undergone such a radical and subtle change. It has become impatient to hold its power and resources under its thumb and hence these proposals and hence these preparations.

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CHAPTER X.

Present Conditions.

Now it is necessary for us to know their present conditions. Suffice it to say about their present internal structure, that there have been no remarkable changes in it, except, that it has lost almost all those factors which contributed towards the growth and maintenance of public life and manliness in the people, induced the Princes to seek the support of their subjects and which kept the produce of the State within their territories.

It is needless to say that their internal construction was on scientific lines from the point of view of an Imperialist. Through this system they had bought almost all those institutions and men like the preceptors, poets and bards and artisans etc., who could exercise any influence over the minds of the public. Naturally these people always impressed the glory and dignity of the monarchical system upon the minds of the public. The literature and arts produced by them also were meant for and served the same nefarious ends. The Jagir-

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dars also contributed something to maintain the might and influence of the monarchical system. No doubt they do not fulfil any such purpose today. Today neither they or their activities have any influence over the public nor times and conditions are favourable to them. Partly it is times and the change in the mentality of the people that have made them useless and partly it is their own conduct which can be blamed for their degeneration. Of course if they wish and do something to adjust themselves to the spirit of the times they can still make themselves serviceable to a certain extent. In the last century they, by joining hands with the people had resisted the despotism of the princes successfully at many places.

But no one party is to be blamed for it. As we have already told, the princes having been relieved of all sorts of responsibilities towards the people, did not feel the need of winning the confidence of their people. Moreover the way in which they have been educated have made them luxurious, lustful and intolerant. Further the policy of non-intervention did away with the last

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vestiges of responsibility and interest in the states if there were any. For, the British Government, except on two or three occassions, has never interfered with a view to check and reform the mal-administration and misrule. Whenever it has interfered it has done so to suit its own purpose. No doubt the people of the states are always dissatisfied and hence it always interferes on the ostensible plea of mal-administration or gross mis-rule. Some recent happenings can be cited to illustrate what we have said above.

The Maharajas of Patiala and Alwar are the most unpopular among their people. They are debauch, corrupt, and tyrranical. They are the most licentious and extravagent in squandering the revenues of the states. If one has achieved the notoriety by perpetrating the Neemuchana tragedy in 1925, the other has gained notoriety on account of the ruthless repression of the Sikhs and by playing with the chastity of the women-folk in his hilly territories. Yet they, because they always dance to the tunes of the Political Department have remained scot free, while the less

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guilty rulers like those of Indore and Nabha have been deposed. However, let us now see another aspect of the policy of intervention. The Nizam of Hyderabad kept himself aloof from the Chamber of princes from the very beginning and so did the Maharana of Udaipur. Moreover in many cases they did not blindly follow the dictates of the Political Department and on the other side, their subjects were exasperated with their tyrranies. The Nizam of Hyderabad favoured the Muslims. His rabid communalism will be evident from the following facts

The population of Hyderabad is one crore and 24 lacs, among which Mohomedans number only 14 lacs; yet out of 1021 higher posts only 175 fell to the lot of the Hindus. Urdu, which is popular among Muslims only is compulsory. For other languages the door of public freedom is almost closed. Without, the permission of the State no private school can be opened. Any news paper which has the courage to criticise the administration adversely is banned from entering into the State territories. Consequently almost all the nationalist papers not excluding even the liberal

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ones stand banned today. No political organisation can take place within its territories and therefore the citizens of the state have often to hold their conferences in British territories.

The administration in Udaipur reminds us of the 15th century's rotten administration. There are neither constitution nor any laws. Even a peon's order is law. Half of the people of the State are wild and Beggaries. * To impart education to the masses is considered to be sin. When Mr. Mahadeo Haribhai Desai M. A., LL.B., Private secretary to Mahatma Gandhi, went to Bijolia to investigate the movement of the peasants of Bijolia conducted by the author of this book and when he asked the officials about the state of education, he was told that "You see, these people are agitating so much while they are uneducated, if they will be educated they will not allow us to have a sound sleep." However these are not isolated instances. Today ninety nine out of the hundred States have the same barbarous conditions. There are only four or

* The communities who are taken to be meant to do unpaid and forced labor by birth.

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five States which are reformed and are progressive. But we have mentioned these only in order to show the true nature of the policy of intervention. In these States the intervention was made on the ostensible plea of mis-rule prevalent in them. Yet the people of the States gained nothing. The Government got what it wanted, and the grievances of the people remained as unredressed as ever. In short, what we want to contend is that the Government, has always sought to justify its right of intervention, on the plea of the protection of the rights of the people but it has never discharged its duty well. On the other hand, when occasions arose, they have always supported the princes in their ruthless repression. Now, nor can it be, that British authorities can do nothing in the States. In fact, it is they who rule them indirectly. But even if we do not dive deep, we will see it clearly that in reality it is British officers who rule the States.

Here are some instances which bespeak of their great influence.

(1) In the non-co-operation days the Government informed the States by sending a

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confidential circular, that the volunteer corps of the non-co-operators who were resorting to passive resistance have been declared unlawful. This was sufficient for the Jaipur State to dissolve all the volunteer organisations meant for social and educational services.

(2) Partapi wife of Jeta Bhoi of Udaipur was detained forcibly at the Residency Kothi for several months Still her presence there was denied despite several applications by her husband. Finally however, she was traced to the Resident's camp at village Basi during his Mewar tour, and arrested in the tent of his butler named Rajub. But only the papers and not the accused of this case were sent up to the Foujdari i. e. the city magistrate's court at Udaipur. When the court demanded, along with the papers, the accused Rajub the police wrote in reply. " In reply to our request to the residency Vakil for sending the accused for trial, we are informed that the Resident sahib says that *he has spoken on the matter to the Dewan who will accordingly take up this case personally. Hence the papers are sent up without the accused.*

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Eventually, the Dewan and the police officer brought pressure upon the poor Jeta and he had to deliver his wife to Rajub for a sum of Rs 200/-and to compromise the case. The woman was converted to Christianity. *

In short, in the words of Mr. Joseph Chailley † "The political officers who reside at their courts are in truth (I reproduce here native opinion which contains a material part of the truth) their masters That may not be true in the case of the Nizam who has eleven million subjects nor perhaps in the State of Mysore with its five million, the opposition of rulers of this calibre might be inconvenient and they consequently escape from the annoying control of the political despot. But elsewhere the attitude of the political officer, while ordinarily deferential in form (though even that is sometimes lacking) is the attitude of a servant who directs his nominal master, haughty, polite, impertinent and ironical.

* Quoted by Pathik in his statement before the special Tribunal appointed by the Udaipur Durbar to try his cases, from the judicial record of the Udaipur State,

† Problems of British India by M. J. Chailley. P. 257.

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And what say the observers I am quoting are these political officers save spies whose words will be believed by the English in the face of all outside denial. Once they have pronounced a judgement on any matter, how can the chief appeal against it, save by the difficulty and exceptional method of a letter to the Viceroy or a complaint to the Government and the peoples of the State are not decieved. They know their rulers are thus subject to masters and their attitude takes colour from this." But the story by no means ends here. The truth is that the Government, not only connives at the maladministration and misrule in the States but it also encourages and maintains it, by discouraging reforms in the States. This will be clear from the following facts.

In the Indian States two of the most horrible and barbarous customs, are those of *Begar* and slavery. As regards *Begar*, this is the system of unpaid and forced labour. It is prevalent in all the Indian States in some form or the other. Except some persons or community of rank and dignity all have to do Begar at the bidding of the

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touring officers. Many families have been ruined on account of this system. Even some had to give up their very lives for its sake. During the course of investigation to prepare the ground for the tour of Mr. Andrews, who started an agitation against Begar in 1920, hundreds of such cases, in which the victims had to lose their very lives came to be known to the writer of this book. The system as it exists, demoralises both the inflicter and the prey. Selfishness and brutal propensity for oppression are engendered in the one, while cowardice and hatred against the State grow in the other. But the reader will be astonished to know that even this cruel and debasing institution which is a curse to humanity and which reduces people to the level of serfs is also countenanced by the British Government. Here we will like to give only one instance of this by way of illustration.

In 1923 Kotah Durbar abolished Begar and alluded to this in his speech, he delivered at Kotah while welcoming the Agent to the Governor-General. But in reply the A G. G. said, "Begar in itself is not a curse or a form of slavery.

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It is not an institution that reduces people to the level of serfs. It is on the contrary only an evidence that the right kind of relations exist between the prince and his nobles and their royats.* It is a service of affection rendered with spontaniety and willingness and received with kindness and benevolence. Even in British India Begar is not evidence of the wickedness of the system of administration. In older days supplies and fodder and fuel and so forth were freely given to touring officers, as a sign of affection and hospitality and gratitude and protection and help in times of trouble. Abuses have no doubt crept in, and the system of administration has become less dependent on the personal factor and the institution has had to be curtailed. But I for one should be very sorry if it were completely abolished even in British India and I hope that it will long survive in the States ! "

Now as regards the encouragement of Slavery the following quotation will speak for itself. When in 1926 the 6th committee of the League

* Subjects.

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of Nations discussed the International Slavery Convention, the British delegate said, "The Government of India were satisfied that slavery in the ordinary sense did not exist in the Indian States, but were prepared to urge the rulers of the States to institute reforms where necessary. While they did not consider that interference with the internal administration of the ruling princes was justified they would not fail to make suitable recommendations to the State rulers."

Now whether the slavery in ordinary sense exists or not in the Indian States will be shown in the following chapters. But how the British Government encourages slavery inspite of its tall talks of discouraging it, will be evident from the facts which come in the sequel. It is also a matter of common knowledge that no State can negotiate with another without the mediation of the Government. In accordance with this practice, after a long time of the above statement in the League committee, the Government had extradition laws enacted in many of the States. One typical extradition law, out of the lot which is concerned with slavery says:—

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"*Agricultural labourers peasants, shepherds and cowherds and serfs of the State and their Nobles shall not be allowed to emigrate to another State unless they have arrived at a settlement with their masters. As a rule they shall obtain permits* from the Názim (District Magistrate) or from their Masters before emigrating from one State to the other. Those agriculturists, agricultural labourers, shepherds, and cowherds and serfs *who fail to obtain such permits shall be respectively delivered on demand to the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police concerned.*"*

In the light of these facts, the reader can very well judge whether the British Government desires to maintain or abolish the misrule and slavery. Similarly, the speeches of the Political Agents and

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* An extract from the Extradition Law enacted by Kotah State.

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Viceroys in Indian States on the occasions of their visit to the States are also worth noting. A word here or there in them may be found about the good administration in the States, but not a word will be found about the representation and share of the people of the States in the administration.

To be true, the princes are nothing but mere agents or feudal chiefs of the Government and if it wants any change in their status and position it is because its self-interest demands it.

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CHAPTER XI.

Present Conditions.

Internal Administration.

As a result of the conditions already noted the internal administration of the States has naturally become very much deteriorated. One can understand why the British Government connives at the mal-administration and misrule in the native States. But no education is imparted to them. The trade, arts, crafts and cottage industries etc., have been destroyed by indirect means. People have been reduced to such poverty, that in many states they can commit any crime even for the sake of a pice. Villages after villages are inhabited with such men who do not hesitate even in murdering a man for taking away his tattered clothes. Many of them are safe haunts for roving criminal tribes. Bribery is common in most of the states. A man getting Rs. 30/- per month usually spends Rs. 300/-. Besides these, most of the States are situated in hilly and strategic districts. In these circumstances by keeping the people in such

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conditions Government can get good many recruits for the army at any time. Thus in a way it can be said that it is the self-interest of the English men for which one-third of India is kept under such conditions. But the States have nothing to gain by this and yet on account of their ignorance, they have always blindly co-operated with the British Government in its execution.

The result has been that, on account of the change in the conditions and their own protectorates having fell in the ranks of Jagirdars, they have no business left to do, except to ravel in luxuries. The Jagirdars too having fallen victims to the same conditions were lost in the wilderness and began to imitate the princes in their mode of living, eating, constructing palaces, in decorations and in other things. Naturally this led to high expenditure and consequently to higher taxation. And when this did not accomplish their objects fully, forests were taken under their control, with the result that peasants felt great inconvenience and difficulty in maintaining many cattles. The reduction in cattles led to the reduction in manures which in its turn

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adversely affected the crops. On the other side cottage industries and others depending upon cattles and forests being afforded no protection, were destroyed, and the people were forced to satisfy their needs by foreign goods. Thus lacs of artisans and labourers too became idle. For a time atleast, people kept aloof from the foreign medicines but at length the hospitals were thrust upon them. In this way, on the one hand, the burden of the taxes went on increasing, and on the other, crops and industries went on declining and the British trade went on flourishing. The movement for Swadeshi * was always repressed. Owing to the lack of efficient administration the number of thieves and robbers too went high. Moreover, on account of low salaries and the absence of healthy environment all sorts of state officials and servants resorted to bribery, with the result that today majority of the people of the States do not report their cases of thefts, or dacoities to the Police, but instead are compelled to recover their lost property by going over to the leaders of the dacoits and offering them

* For using goods manufactured in one's own country.

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presents. To crown them all, barbarous customs and punishments of the medieval ages are still in vogue. †

Here are some of the typical instances of their strange and inhuman practices.

(1) Accused are still tortured, e. g., they are put in stocks, made to stand in the sun with heavy load on their head or belly; are compelled to sit on stakes, thorns etc.; are compelled to walk each day many miles in bar-fetters without the usual leather-guards.

(2) People are required to get down from their conveyances while passing from before the fort and palaces.

(3) People are forbidden to use umbrella while passing from before the fort, courts and palaces.

(4) None except the members of the Royal family can put on gold on legs.

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† See *Bijolia Papers.*

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(5) The entrance without headgear is forbidden into forts, courts, and palaces.

(6) Extra-tax is levied from the peasants to maintain the expenses of the young princes and the princesses.

(7) People are required, to pay extra tax for celebrating the marriages of the members of the Royal family.

(8) People can not change their religion without any impunity.

(9) The people of villages are forced to evacuate their villages with a view to convert them (villages) into preserves for hunting purposes.

Instances after instances can be given in support of what we have said before regarding the inhuman practices. But we will content ourselves here by only citing two or three positive facts in support of some barbarous usages.

Firstly with regard to the tortures, many instances from numerous law suits brought against

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the State officials can be cited. But here we will mention only one fact, the fact that the Girahi Mahakma (Department) of Udaipur State has been abolished only very recently on the ground that it was proved to be a regular machinery of such tortures.

As regards the prohibition of entry into forts etc. without headgear and the like customs, we will direct the attention of our readers to an incident which happened in Bikaner, which claims to be one of the most progressive States—though really it is most reactionary—and whose ruler was selected to represent the Indian Princes at Geneva.

The author, while intending to see the fort of Bikaner was informed that he could enter the fort only if he would put on a dyed headgear and if he would put off his country made shoes, as demanded by the State rules.

With regard to conversions, we will draw the attention of our readers towards the Section 300 of the Code "Tazirat Shahjahani" (Bhopal Penal Code) which lays down "If any person turns a

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renegade after embracing Islam, he shall be punished with imprisonment of either discription which may extend to 3 years, or with fine, or with both."

With regard to ejectments, let us cite the typical conduct of the Maharaja of Bharatpur. In 1924 the inhabitants of some six villages in the Baretta District were ordered to evacuate those villages with a view to convert them into preserves for hunting purposes. The inhabitants petitioned the Maharaja requesting him to postpone his orders till rainy season was over. Even this legitimate request was not acceded to. They were ordered to evacuate the villages atonce. Those who refused to do so were charged of treason against the State and were arrested. Their huts were razed down to the ground by means of elephants and their thaches burnt.

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CHAPTER XII.

Present Conditions

The Departments.

Generally there are the following departments in the States, viz:—

(1) Police. (2) Judiciary. (3) Revenue
(4) Excise (5) Customs, (6) Transport.
(7) Military. (8) Forests. (9) Education.
(10) Reserve Forests. (11) Palace.

Barring some of the States there are neither competitive examinations nor fixed qualifications for the recruitment of the services. Nor is there any uniform for servants of the States. The result is that any "safed posh" (a fashioned fop) can take Begar from the people in the villages and ration from the merchants at lower rates. At some places he even succeeds in extorting the money. The Jagirdars, as a rule, posses both the executive and judicial powers. In the States too, judiciary is generally not seperate from the executive. To go a step further, in many States the ruler himself is also the Chief Justice of the

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High Court. The result is that people do not get unalloyed justice and often judicial powers are misused to secure some ignoble executive ends.

Representative Institutions.

The representative assemblies or bodies have also been introduced of late in some of the States to hoodwink the outside public or bodies like Butler Committee. But they do not possess even the ghost of the representative character. They are mere shams. For, firstly, in such an atmosphere as has been already depicted, none can even imagine that a true representative man will get into them; even if there be some provisions and facilities to form representative assemblies. But today there are no facilities for such institutions. Therefore, generally they are composed of such members only who are pro--Government. Further they remain mere petitioneering bodies with no responsibility even in the limited sphere and the power to veto rests with the executive which is not at all responsible to the assembly or council. To give a best and all round recognised illustration, let us take the

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case of Mysore. This State is universally praised in India for its progressive administration. But what it is in reality can be judged from the fact that one-fourth of the total revenue of the State is derived from the sale of intoxicants. As for other things we quote below the opinion of a prominent member of the Mysore Legislature. He writes:—

"The ruler is the head of the administration and his will is law and is supreme in all branches of administration. He appoints and removes all officers. Even the judges of the highest tribunal are his nominees and although direct interference with the natural cource of justice may not be resorted to, it is quite possible to influence decisions by Executive manipulations. The Representative Assembly though a purely popular body which has behind it a distinguished record of nearly 50 years still remains a petitioning body with no power of responsibility of even the most limited sort. The Legislative Council has no elected majority and its resolutions and recommendations are purely of advisory character and the power to veto them vests in the executive

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itself which owes no responsibility whatsover to the Council.

There is no freedom of Press, of association or of speech, and deportations, externments, and forfeitures of property can be inflicted on any one without even the semblance of a judicial enquiry by the Executive alone.

The civil administration is top-heavy and quite an army of fat salaried officers and reserve men wholly out of proportion to the work to be turned out are being maintained at the cost of the over-burdened ryots.

The lower rank of what is euphemistically termed public service are under-paid and the majority are not in the receipt of a living wage. Consequently corruption, inaptitude and discontent are on the increase among them and it needs not much imagination to visualise the disastrous effects of the existence of these atrophied limbs on the main body of administration."

We will also like to give the conditions of two more such Councils and one local self-governing

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institution introduced by the rulers who pose themselves as very much civilized, enlightened and progressive, and who claim to be the spokesmen of the princes.

One among them is the Council established by the Jam Saheb of Jamnagar, who collecting certain interested persons created a council as if by a magic-wand and had it opened by the Maharaja of Alwar who is as well known a hypocrite as Jam Saheb. But it has never met since then.

The second typical council is that of Bhav Nagar. It consists of members nominated by the State, and each member is permitted to ask only five questions and that, too, with the previous permission of the officials. Yet, all this goes under the name of a Representative Assembly.

The third is an instance of a typical local self-governing body. It is that of a so-called progressive and enlightened State like that of Bikaner, whose ruler has represented once the Indian princes also in the League of Nations.

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There is a Municipality in his State but the people take no interest in its elections. When the writer of this book enquired the reason of this apathy he was told by the authorities that being backward, people do not take interest in such activities. But when ascertained from the public it was found that any agitation on its part regarding the election is met by repression. That once people were thrown in jails simply because they celebrated the death anniversary of the Late Lokmanya Tilak. Moreover the rules are such that the election of a member can take place only when the State wants it. In one ward the election takes place after one year, in another it does not take place even upto 5 years. On account of these tactics the Government retains only such members in the Municipality who are innocious and checks off whom it does not want. Moreover the President is not bound by the decision of the Municipality. He can veto

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any proposals he likes. And the crowning absurdity of the whole thing is that while the State has borrowed a loan of one lac eighty thousand from the Municipality, the Municipality has to run its business by imposing fresh taxes.

Such are the conditions of the representative institutions in the States of those who claim themselves enlightened and progressive. In the backward States only the clerk constitutes the Municipality. He is its whole and sole.

Similar is the condition of the Budgets and Reports. The annual report of the Limbdi State of the year 1926-27 has in it the amount of one lac fifty thousand which in reality was spent on the education of Maharaj Kumar (the heir-apparent). But in the Report it has been shown under the head of the Education Department as if it was spent on the education of the people. In the same way money spent on the construction and

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repairs on the roads inside the palaces is shown under P. W. D. Similarly in the annual report, of the Indore State of the year 1926-27 there is an amount of six lacs which was in reality spent on the construction of the palace in a garden named Lalbagh. But in the Report it is shown under the P. W. Department. There is another item of one lac rupees in the very report under the very head and which was really spent on hunting preserves. In fact both these items should have been shown under the head of palace but then the total amount spent on the palaces would have reached 22 P. C. of the total income of the State.* This shows how dangerous it is to rely even upon the statistics and statements given by these States.

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* Taken from *the servant of India* Poona.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Present Conditions.

Some facts and illustratinns.

Here are given certain instances and examples in the light of which the readers will judge for themselves what kind of administration is prevalent in the States today? What kind of rules and laws are framed even under the period of the rule by the Regency when the British Government rules them directly, and why the people of the States can not agitate though they are so much oppressed and persecuted?

* * * * *

In almost all the Indian States there is no freedom of speech, of press or of association. Deportation, forfeiture of property and externments can be inflicted on any one without even the semblance of judicial enquiry. They are destitute even of the pretence of system or security.

Facts after facts can be cited in support of what is said above, but we will content ourselves here by giving only some of the glaring and

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typical illustrations of, how the people of the Indian States are muzzled and oppressed.

The following is the extract from the crude piece of legislation enacted by the Maharaja of Alwar of Nimuchana fame and who is also a member of the standing committee of the Chamber of Princes.

"A meeting of more than five persons shall be presumed to be a public meeting within the meaning of this act until the contrary is proved. No public meeting shall be held for the discusssion of any subject likely to cause a disturbance or of *any political subject* or for the exhibition and distribution of any writing or printed matter relating to any such subject. At any public meeting no such subjects will be discussed or preached which are likely to do anything which may be contrary to the interests of Alwar State, its Gevernment, its sovereign or against the interests of His Majesty the King Emperor of India, His Government or against the interests of any other ruling Prince of India. No person shall concern himself or conspire in convening, organising or otherwise knowingly taking part

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in the public meeting. No one may write, print, or publish or circulate or attempt to write, print publish or circulate any article or document inside the State *or outside it* which has a tendency, indirect or direct, against the interests of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, and his Royal family or his Government or H. M. the King Emperor of India or any other ruling Prince of India.

No person may subscribe or import or hold in his possession any such article. Such persons whenever found shall be punished with imprisonment for five years or fine amounting to two thousand rupees. The offenders if necessary, may be ordered to quit the State."

* * * * *

The Maharaja of Patiala who is the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes and who is representing the case of the Indian Princes in England, has like the Maharaja of Alwar, prohibited all political meetings and has very recently thrown many of the Akalis in prison simply because they discussed, in the religious Diwans, the resolutions passed by the Chamber of Princes. It is to be noted

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specially that these Diwans were held in the Gurudwara and not in the open air. Now seeing the agitation in the press the foreign minister of the Patiala State, trying to whitewash his master's folly says, " ordinarily political meetings invariably degenerated into violent seditious propaganda, which necessitated in the interests of the law and order prohibition of such meetings within the State territory for the time being."

* * * *

The following are some extracts from the press Act of the Jodhpur state :—

2 (*d*) "Printing Press includes all engines, machineries, types, lithographic stones, implements, utensils and other plant or material used for the purpose of printing.

Illustration- A Cyclostyle is a printing press but not a type writer."

(*e*) "Prsocribed foreign publication includes all publication that have been proscribed by the Government of India or any of

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its Local Governments or by any Indian State having a personal salute of eleven guns."

(5) "No news-paper or book or paper shall be printed or published by any person or press within the Marwar territory except with the previous sanction of the Mehkma Khas." *

(6) "No seditious or obscene literature or matter *relating to state politics* or such matters as are calculated to incite anarchical outrages or to acts of violence or to tamper with loyalty of the army or the navy, or to excite racial, class or religious animosities, shall be printed or published within the Marwar territory by any person."

(7) "No printing press or publisher in Marwar shall exchange its or his publication *with any foreign publication.*"

But it is not the Princes alone who are to be blamed for this. The Government of India also

* The Ruler himself as the head of Executive.

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perpetuate such tyranny when the administration of any State is under the Regency. The following extracts from the regulation passed by the Regency Council of Jodhpur and which is still in force may be cited.

"Whoever, by word either spoken or written or by sign or visible representation or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt or excites or attempts to excite *disaffection or disloyalty* towards His Majesty the Emperor of India or His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur *or his administration** shall be deemed guilty of sedition."

(1) "No public meeting can be held for furtherance or discussion of any subject likely to promote *sedition* or cause disturbance of public tranquility or for the exhibition or circulation or distribution of any written or printed matter."

(2) "Any subject of Marwar knowing that *any other person has received seditious*

* How can one criticize it ?

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pamphlets or prohibited newspapers or *periodicals hostile to British Government* or the Marwar Durbar or any matter likely to cause public disturbance or breach of peace, must report the same within 48 hours to the nearest Magistrate or police officer."

(3) "No subject of Marwar shall harbour or give shelter to any person whom he knows to be notorious seditionist."

(4) "No subject of Marwar shall receive or keep in possession or distribute or help in distributing seditious writings or prohibited newspapers or periodicals hostile to the British Government or the Marwar Durbar *or correspond or* associate with notorious seditionists."

* * * * *

Ninety percent of the Indian States, the State of Hyderabad, which claims equal and independent status with Britain like Persia and Afghanistan, not excepting, has got such despotic enactments.

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But we will fail in our duty if we did not record a new fact or factor that is becoming a crown wheel in the machinery of the administration of Indian States. It is the process of Europeanising them. Today they are forced to take as many English officers as can be thrust upon them. This is done under the spacious grab of introducing efficiency in the Government. But its real purpose is not to reform the administration but to keep the autocracy in tact to rule them indirectly and to counter-balance the Indianisation of services in British India. More-over it is tempting for both the parties. To the one it serves as a cloak for his mis-deeds and to the other an opportunity of amassing wealth and ruling a State without becoming a ruler.

To illustrate what we have said it will suffice to say that all the strangely barbarous and repressive laws of Jodhpur quoted by us had been enacted in the time of Regency, when English officers were the whole and sole in that State.

And how these officers help and commit darkest barbarities in the States can be judged from the

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conduct of Mr. C. G. Chennvix Trench-the settlement officer in Udaipur State, who, while commanding firing on the peaceful peasants of Begun made the soldiers fall upon women and cut down their skirts and make them naked (!. That is why in Indian States an Englishman is not a benefactor but a source of terror and hatred, and that is why many of the rulers like to have some such tools even at a very heavy cost, to save themselves from all explanations and objections of the paramount power for such things if done by them or by their Indian officers.

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CHAPTER XIV.

Present Conditions.

Social Life.

The social life which the princes and jagirdars lead constitutes a unique mystry by itself. They can marry as many women as they like and can keep as many concubines as they choose Neither these concubines nor their children possess any proprietory rights as enjoyed by germane ones. They have to content themselves on what scanty they can get by pleasing the prince. As for the detailed life in Harems, the briefest account of the Jaipur palace, which is an ideal (!) and typical one, will do. There, according to the very statements made by some of the women who led the life of captives in the harem of the Jaipur prince, was a regular department to procure girls. Under its auspices there is a *Pátarkhána*, a department in which beautiful and young girls are kept. They are taught there to dance, sing, play upon musical instruments and act Dramas etc. After they are trained they are divided into parties called 'Akhárás.' Each Akhárà consists of two girls

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expert in playing upon the hormonium, two on the Tabla (a pair of kettle drums), two on the violin, four on the Majirás (hollow bronze pieces) and four experts (two every young and two bigger) in dancing and eight in marking time with the clapping of their hands. Each Akhárá has a supervisor called Jamadarni. All Akhárás have the same varied uniforms of colours (such as saffron, green, scarlet etc.) and the same sets of ornaments and jewellery. They have to present themselves in the colours ordered. There are the Akharas styled as Huzur ka Akhara * Madho Niwas ka Akhara, green palace Akhara, *, Jhaliji ka Akhara, * Chandavatji ka Akhara, * Tanvarji ka Akhara, No len ka Akhara * (consisting of nine rows of nine pátars (girls) each, etc. and so on. In all there are about 40 Akhárás belonging to the Maharaja and the Maharanees. Approximately the Patars number between a thousand and fifteen hundred. The training is imparted by the employees of the *Gunijan khána* (a department of musicians and actors) consisting of

* Parties named after the names of Rulers, princesses, famous palaces and Hindoo Gods.

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professional prostitutes, buffons, songsters, dancers, and actors. They are employed by the State on handsome salaries or granted Jagirs. They have their own jails and courts inside the palaces. With each Akhàrà there are ten maid servants. Moreover each Maharani has her seperate staff. Thus in all, the approximate number of the girls and young women comes to 2500.

The girls and young women when once they have entered the *Patar Khána* have to eat flesh and drink wine, irrespective of their birth and religion.

The dress of the Patars consists of "Chooridar Pyjamas, (tight trousers) a bodice, a jacket and a loose scarf and is just like the dress of the prostitutes. At the time of singing and dancing the Patars put on lanhagas (skirts) resembling those of prostitutes.

When ever a particular Akhara is ordered to give its concert, its members present themselves fully decorated before the Maharaja and exhibit their best feats. If pleased, the Maharaja distributes reward to them. The Patars have to imitate

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all the performances of the actors and actresses of a theatrical party.

Sometimes these revelries go on up to two or three days continuously. As a rule, the girls are trained in their very infancy to be accustomed to keep themselves three or four days and nights regularly without sleep. Whenever the Maharaja gets displeased with a girl, she is either bound to a pillar or hung from a ceiling and then flogged or is punished with confinement in the "*Bimar-khána*" (house of patients). This house is very dreary and horrifying.

Such prisoners have to eat bare barley ground and cooked with their own hands and to live in solitude.

* * * * *

The Patrani (i.e. the senior Maharanee) is considered to be the highest in rank in the palace. The Junior Maharanees stand second, the purdaits third the paswans * fourth and the marzidans † fifth. The purdaits are granted a jagir each worth Rs. 5000/- a year and so are granted their sons seperately. The purdaits enjoy the honour of

* Concubines. † Favourites.

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Tazim i. e. whenever they appear before the Maharaja and the Maharanees, they are received by the royal personage standing. The paswans are entitled to wear both silver and gold round their feet, this gold being known as the "Nazar sona." The duty of these paswans is to be in the constant company of the Maharaja and hence they are exempted from the task of singing and dancing etc.

Next to the patar, in status are the ghaghra wali bais. These women are allowed to go up to the inner end of the harem where managers, officers and other male employees of the palace can go. Standing by the sill of the entrance they can talk with the men but they may not cross the sill. These women are made to render all kinds of services. They are all slaves. They are appointed in groups of five to ten to attend upon the patars of each Akhara. They have to do all odd jobs. Similarly they have to serve the ranees, pardaits and the marzidans. These ghaghrawali bais are also recruited to the harem in the same way as slaves. Their number amounts here to about two thousand. In addition to them,

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there are about 2000 other women of this class belonging to the different Raolas.

When any of the patars, marzidans or paswans whom the Maharaja visits conceives, information is forthwithe ommunicated to the Maharaja through the female officers and eunachs. If the Maharaja is particularly pleased with her, her conception is preserved and with usual ceremonies, she is made a pardait and Jagir and tazim are granted to her.

Of all the women living in the palaces those of the following two classes lead a very wretched and miserable life:—

(1) Slave girls who through out their whole life have to live in the palaces. and (2) Patars or girls belonging to the Akhárás. The girls of the first class are always treated like cattels. They are given away in presents and in dowry. The refuge from the master's dish forms their food. They are given used clothes. They are made to render all kinds of services. Whenever they incur the displeasure of their master they are badly beaten, flogged, put in stocks, touched with red-hot iron and subjected to other such

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tortures. Sometimes they are beaten to death. If any proof is necessary, one may have a peep into the recent case in which a jagirdar of Mewar stands accused on the charge of murdering a girl, by throwing kerosine oil and then setting fire to her clothes.

With regard to the girls and young women of the second class, there is so much difference that they are required to do only certain specified duties. Moreover they are rarely given away as presents or in dowry. Besides these, there is no difference in the social life they lead. When they are neither imparted good education nor in them are inculcated the notions of self-respect, and on the contrary when they are taught that to please the master is their sole duty, are asked to pass their lives in filthy atmosphere, are taught to sing filthy songs, and indulge in revelries and when in such atmosphere, they are asked to lead the life of celibacy, is there any wonder if the result is only fall and deterioration. When such are the state of affairs, how can one expect them to lead a pure and self-respecting social life. How can one expect them to entertain high and noble

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thoughts. This by no means exhausts the whole tale of their shame and infamy. Even their relatives, what to say of Maharajas, can make any of them the victim of their lust at any time. To put the whole thing in a nutshell and thus also to save ourselves from this nauseating description, the following facts applicable to almost all the palaces will reveal the true nature of the life led therein:—

(1) Every year generally some women run away from the palaces or are caught while attempting to run away.

(2) Every year there occur generally some sensational and mysterious deaths in the palaces.

(3) Pandles, long Brinjals, Moolies and such other articles are not allowed to enter the harem in tact, because they have been found to have broken within the private parts of the women and were extracted by Doctors from outside.

And the readers will be shocked to know that even today, when British Government is itself

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administering the Jaipur State through a Regency established by itself, these thousands of unfortunate girls and women are forced to rot in that very terrible hell (palaces) as before. Perhaps, this is due to the fear of horrible disclosures of the palace scandals which are bound to follow, if they are set free.

This is how Slavery and Savagery is discauraged by British Government in Indian States!!!

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The condition of the married Maharanies and other women of the royal family is not also good from the point of womanhood. But they get full opportunities to ravel in all luxuries etc. Yes, they are given some education in vernaculars and having as they do notions of high family, they generally lead pure life. But from the social point of view their life is also wretched. They have strictly to observe Parda.* Their parents while finding a bridegroom for them see, whether he possesses a big Jagir or State. They do not take any other consideration in view. A big

* To remain behind closed doors.

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Jagirdar or a ruler, howsoever feeble in health and corrupt he may be, can get as many girls as he chooses to have. To illustrate it, the very recent and third marriage of the heir-apparent of the Udaipur state (a Premier state in Rajputana) may be mentioned. In this case the lower half of the body of the heir-apparent is paralysed. It was also published in the Press that the girl was against this so-called marriage, yet the marriage took place.

Besides, the expenses and meaningless rites and customs in the marriages reach to such an extremity and absurdity that many princesses on account of the lack of those means remain for ever unwedded. Nay, there are still Rajputs who are poor and yet have the misfortune of belonging to the Royal race and therefore they murder their daughters as soon as they are born to avoid the embarrasments of the marriages. Where the married ones do not get any opportunity of taking any part in the public activities owing to the pernicious system of the purda and where they are compelled to indulge their life in eating flesh and drinking wine and pandering

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to low tastes, it would mean almost entering into a most dis-tasteful and distressing chapter of human life if we were to describe the intolerable life of the widows. There are many other things. But these are the things which tell heavily upon the income and scanty resources of the people. For, all these expenses are realised from the public directly or indirectly. We have contented ourselves here merely by describing these things by way of illustration. Our object simply is to draw the attention of the civilized world towards the innumerable sufferings and privations of the women folk and extravagance and demoralization of the Princes for which the British Government is no less responsible than the princes themselves. Especially there is no ghastly deed and atrocious inhumanitiy which is not practised and inflicted upon these poor girls and young women, within the four walls of the palaces.

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At this stage, the readers will naturally feel inclined to know the nature of life led by the chiefs and jagirdars. We also think it necessary for two reasons. Firstly because of the fact that

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it taxes the public exchequer no less heavily than the harems. Secondly because of its peculiar charms and curiousities.

Here it would be useless to describe all those false shows and pomps which are usually resorted to by the old-typed princes to decorate their palaces and adorn their bodies. Different sorts of materials from different couutries and of different colours and tastes are required here to decorate each palace or each chamber. Similarly, the dresses and arms of the courtiers are also different and varied, and manners of their uses are also fixed. Apart from these and slave attendants, there are groups of silver-staff carriers, gold-staff carriers, smoking pipe carriers, flag-bearer, arms-bearer, waterbearer, shoe-bearer, singers, bards, nautch girls, and nobles etc. who are always in attendance on the princes and whose number and scale is according to the extent and income of the State or Jagir.

Besides, there are separate stables for horses meant for the exclusive use of the prince and his favorites. Similarly there are

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stables of camels, elephants, carriages, motors, charriots, etc., which are administered and managed by seperate departments, often named after them. There are ornaments and decorations made of gold, silver, studded with gems or otherwise, and of different shapes and colours, for these animals and conveyances also. Most of the state's revenue is spent on these. Of course in these days they are shown under the head of "Transport."

However, after all this description, it is useless to say anything about palaces, gardens, especially when even today the princes generally believe that the best way to perpetuate their memory is to construct extraordinary palaces and gardens. Their modes of living, eating etc., is also in keeping with their other practices. Singing and singing for hours is a rule at the time of rising, sleeping, and at the time of taking meals. There are other customs which are observed at

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the time of their bath or using opium or any other intoxication to which they are accustomed. For instance, before the prince takes his cup of opium, the bard has to recite several poems extolling its virtues. In the same way Pandits are required to mutter sacred verses at the time of the bath and God-worship. These consume nearly half a day. So is the case with meals. The dish must contain 40 or 50 varieties, every thing of which should be nicely prepared and served in gold and silver pots. Those who serve the dishes, should also be beautiful, clean and neatly dressed. After the meals they usnally go to bed and then rise at about 3 P. M. The hunting is also usual in the evening and when they return from the hunting the above proccss is renewed. At times a display of colours is ordered. For instance if red coulor is ordered any day, then every preparation is made of red colour. Carpets which are spread, curtains which are hung on the walls,

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dresses which are used, and cups and bottles are are all red.

The same decorum is observed in festivals and processions. Each and every festival, important or otherwise, is celebrated with great pomp and luxury. Thousands are spent on each festival. To do a thing on a smaller scale is considered below their dignity. All this tells upon the poor people. On the one hand, they are forced to work in Begar and on the other, they are robbed of their hard earned money. No doubt some educated princes have caused some changes here and there into old manners but instead they have introduced new ones which cost rather heavily To tell the truth, there has been no substantial change as far as the misuse of public money and hardships of the people are concerned.

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CHAPTER XV.

Present Conditions

The Peasants

We have up-to-now dealt with the different important aspects and departments of the States. Now let the readers have a peep into those of the people.

The number of the towns and cities in the Indian States can be counted on fingers. Ninety nine per cent of the people live in the villages. They principally fall into two groups:—Viz:—(a) that of the peasants and (b) that of the agricultural labourers and craftsmen. In almost all the States the soil is productive and that is why at many places the State can exact and levy land-tax upto Rs. 100/-per acre. And where it is not good it can be imporved. But who cares to improve it? Almost overwhelming majority of the States do not spend a single farthing in this direction. On the other hand, as we have already pointed out there is continually going on a steady decline in the manures on account of the absence of facilities

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in pastures etc. This, in its turn, further re-acts adversely on the produce from the crops. To crown this all, they have no proprietory rights over the land. They are simply tenants-at-will and hence they can be got ejected, by any one who bids to pay the higher. As a result, the poor peasant can lose his land which he had made fit for cultivation after years of constant labour and energy, within the twinkling of an eye. Therefore naturally they are not very enthusiastic in improving it. The peasants in the States of Kathiawad do not possess the proprietory rights even over their houses built at their own expense. They can be and have been ejected from their houses at any time along with the land they cultivate.

The writer of this book had the privilege to live among the peasants for several years as their trusted friend and well wisher and therefore he knows what miserable life the Indian peasants lead. In fact, the places where those poor peasants live are no better than pig-holes. Being penniless they can not have them built by others. They do everything roughly and clumsily with their own

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hands. To add to all these, they use the cheapest and the coarsest material. The mud-walls too are not sufficiently high. Due to the general terror of the thieves and the robbers they will have no windows in their houses. Nor will they, with their wives and children, sleep outside even in the summer when people generally can not do without the fans in the open air. For, most of the outlying districts of the States are infested with such thieves and robbers for whom even the pilfering of tattered clothes of the sleeping men is usual. As regards their clothings, suffice it to say that they are used till they are not completely torn to pieces and rendered ussless. Even then they are not thrown away. They are collected and cobbled into thick cover-sheets to be used in winter. They give such a peculiar bad smell which is simply unbearable.

When such is the condition what to say of toilet and washing soap! Work as they do for full 16 hours in the day, they do not get time even to bath and wash their clothes properly. There houses are generally 18 to 20 Ft. in length, 7 to 8 Ft. in breadth and 5 to 4 Ft. in height, at the

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most. In this very mud-hut is kitchen, churning place, a small granary made of mud, a number of mud-pots containing things of daily use, fuels, agricultural implements and tools, water-pots etc. In the night calves are also accomodated there. Such is the condition of the house in which they have to live and sleep. Their vessels and pots are also in keeping with their general conditions. Hardly one possesses three or four copper or brass vessels. The rest are earthern and wooden pots.

The same is the condition of food. Inspite of their being the owner of cows and buffaloes it is very rarely that their children taste milk, curd and butter. In the morning they take porridge with skim-curd, in the afternoon they take the bread of coarse and cheap corn, often with no vegetable but with salt and chillies. In the evening, bread with salt or with any boiled vegetable that can be easily obtained from the field, forms their food. Even on the occasions of the best festivals, they at the most get a piece of jaggery and porridge cooked with milk.

The life of men is rather more deplorable. In the day they have to labour more than the women.

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In the night also they have to watch their fields and cattles. The princes and the jagirdars have made preserves for hunting which are generally full of tigers, lions, fierce boars etc, which if not warded off for even two hours are sure to destroy the crop. The peasants even can not shoot them. In certain states they can shoot them but only within the boundaries of their fields. But this is impracticable. For, even if wounded within the field it can escape and run away outside its territory and thus give officials an opportunity to harass the poor peasants. Often the persons of their family who keep the watch fell prey to their attacks and at times their goats etc, are carried away by them.

The behaviour of the watchmen is no less amazing. In most of the States there are no watchmen And wherever they are they easily league themselves with the theives. For, the village has no control or jurisdiction over them. If they report the case of theft, it is their relatives who on mere suspicions, and not the real culprits, are harassed for months together But the grim humor is that these petty tyrants whose business

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is not to protect the villagers but to watch opportunities of harasing and terrorising them, are maintained at the expense of the villagers themselves. They have to supply them food, tobacco, opium, cots, beddings, or other such things that they may demand, turn by turn. If any one incurs their displeasure, he is not only assaulted by them but also dragged into litigation by false and concocted reports, in which if not punished, he is sure to be harassed for months. And for a peasant this means death, for, his absence of one day may ruin his six months' sweet and hard labour. That is why peasants generally avoid going to courts as far as possible, even in cases in which they are sure to win. But they are helpless. The villages of to-day unlike those of the past are not governed by their elders. But the reader will be surprised to know that even after leading such industrious and miserable life and labouring day and night, the peasants of Indian states get only one and half anna per day *

* See *Bijolia papers* for fuller details.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Present Conditions.

Agricultural labourers and craftsmen.

The condition of the agricultural labourers and craftsmen is even more wretched than that of the peasants. The peasants at least possess land but these poor men have got nothing. What to say of the modern tools and implements, they do not possess even a complete set of old and rusty ones. Firstly, it is the above mentioned penniless cultivators upon whom they depend for their living. They can not give them much more. But the way to obtain what little they could get from them is also beset with difficulties. Due to the pernicious system of Begar which always dogs their footsteps, they cannot attend to their duties towards the peasants properly. The result is that they incur the displeasure of the peasants and, on the other hand, they cannot even do independent labour for they have to render unpaid and forced labour to almost all the State servants. To crown all this, they have to take their food at their own expense even while working in begar. Nay, even

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if they get their tools broken while working in begar they must have them mended from their own pocket. If one refuses to do begar, he must be prepard to face anything ranging from abusing, flogging, etc. to imprisonment. The average working day for the Begari is also of 12 hours.

Their houses resemble completely rat-holes when compared with the palatial mansions of their masters. They can hardly face the rains. As for their clothings and beddings, the less said the better. There is hardly any one of them who does not fall victim to pnueominia simply due to the want of the coverings. This is the greatest calamity for a worker in the villages. Because, firstly, the hospitals are situated very far from the villages. Further these town hospitals pay no heed to the cases of poor villagers. So, having no other alternative at hand, the people burn the places of pains with a burning coil of cloth or with red-hot iron, just as they burn the pain-spots of cattles. It is due to this, that, in greater part of the outlying districts of Rajputana and Central India, hardly any peasant or agricultural labourer will be found who has no one or other of the burning spots, over his body.

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In fact, the life of the village labourer is nothing but a living catalogue of ghastly brutalities and misfortunes. And what is to be wondered at in it when they are kept in this condition by the the rulers deliberately and when their rulers believe that it is only through starving that they can keep them submissive.

But the grim tragedy of the situation is that they can not change their profession. If they change, they are punished. They are compelled to lead a degraded life even from the social point of view. For instance, the various classes of agricultural labourers like those of Bhils, Ballais, Chamars, Bhambhi, etc. numbering hundreds of millions can not put on silken or other costly robes and clothes, or ornaments made of gold and silver. They can not remain sitting or lying on the cot even before a constable. Nothing to say of possessing conveyances like tonga, carriage, etc. they are even forbidden to ride on a pony.

The evil effects of the Begar can be judged from even this fact that it is not very rare that they have to live on the carcasses and the flesh of hunted animals, for the hydra-headed monster of

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Begar can arrest a man at any time he likes, and can keep him as long as he would wish. Then, there being no fixed uniforms for the State servants even any fashionable fop can pose himself as a State servant and get his work done in Begar. For the sake of huntings which is a daily enjoyment for our Maharajas and Jagirdars thousands of such people are collected and taken in Begar. They have neither clothes nor shoes to put and wear on. Only two pieces of clothes, one around their loins and the other around their heads, is all that they have. In this condition, in the scorching rays of the sun they are compelled to go through hills, dales and forests, strewn with thorns and piercing stones. In these processions, the potters have to follow along carrying water-pots on their heads, and if by chance there is night the barbers have to go along with torches in their hands and all this in Begar. The tale of their misfortunes, tribulations and humiliations is not yet over. The peasants have to give their bullock-carts, the barbers are required to clean and light the State buildings everyday turn by turn, to massage the bodies of the higher State officials, to wash their clothes and

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clean the utensils. The Bhils have to cut grass in the forests for months together and some others have to carry it over to the grass-store. In those days they get rid of this wretched business after 5 p. m., after which they proceed to collect some fuel or grass from the loose forests and sell it in the market, It is merely on this income that they have to pass their days. In short, they are treated worse than animals. Even animals are given food and rest after they have done their work. But these neglected sons of the mother earth do not get even this much. But, for them, this is not mere calamity but fate because there is no escape from it. No one will hear if they file a complaint against the tyranny of the begar. Nor, as we have shown above, can cultivators, agricultural labourers shepherds, cowherds and serfs emigrate from one State to the other to get rid of this miserable condition. If they do so the might of the British Government will help their extradition and thus they will find themselves once more in the grip of their old enemies, now infuriated. That is why their life is taken to be so cheap. It is not rare that they are pounced upon and killed by the infuriated beasts or fall prey to the shot of hunt-

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men, yet their relatives are hardly given any compensation as if it was the dog and not the man that died. The other day a boat full of labourers which was being taken to in the middle of the pichholo lake where artificial islands and palaces were being built, was drowned. Almost all the labourers lost their lives, and though there was agitation, yet their relatives were not compensated properly. In the district, named Bali in the Jodhpur territories, also many beggaries were blown to pieces by the explosion of the old gun-powder store which they were digging. The relatives of these labourers too were not properly compensated. Similarly in the Udaipur State, a state servant named Fateh Lal beat a beggari to death. For all this he was only sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 200. Even to day such occurances form part of daily life in the Indian States.

The poor people can not escape these atrocities even in Jails. There they have to manage themselves for their beddings and meals. If any one can not do this then the State has to bear his expenses They are afterwards realised from him after his release, if necessary even by auctioning

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his cattles, clothes, huts etc. Now after so much agitation some of the States have abolished these practices only in their capitals. In outlying districts and Jagirs they are in vogue as ever. At certain places the men are kept in confinement for several years without any papers and legal proceedings against them.

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On occount of the recent agitations some of the so-called progressive States have abolished Begar in name. Instead they have ordained that the labour will be forced. No body will be allowed to leave his profession but it will be paid. As a typical instance of the payment we will mention the wages fixed by the Bundi State. According to the rules of this State a bullock-cart of two oxen and one man is to be paid eight annas per day only.

From these the readers can judge for themselves whether, through these regulations, the States have abolished the barbarities of Begar or has only legalised them, especially in these days of scarcity and dearth when even in villages it is with

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difficulty that a man can live in six annas a day Moreover, even this nominal wage is not always paid. Often the poor Begari has to go away with his hands empty after toiling hard throughout the day. Sometimes faults are found in his work and thus wages reduced to nothing. The people of the States are peaceful by nature and the present system of administration has almost emasculated them to such an extent that they are prepared to rebel against the Government but will not be prepared to proceed constitutionally against the officials. And how could they dare when they, in States and especially in outlying districts and Jagirs, have every reason to apprehend that they may be beaten by some hirelings and robbed by some party of encouraged thieves or their houses and crops may be put to fire by some mercenery.

Slaves.

Of slaves, there are also several communities like those of Darogas, Hazurees, Ravana Rajputs, Chelas and Gholas etc. They are kept by almost all the Rajas, Nawabs and Jagirdars, Hindus and Muslims alike. They are simply given bare

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necessities of life by their masters. The best and the highest food they can expect is the refuge from their masters dishes. Their wives and daughters are considered as their exclusive property and mere instruments to satisfy their lustful desires. Their marriages and divorces depend on the arbitrary will of their masters. They and their children are given away in dowry, even today. If he takes shelter into some other States he is got extradited simply on the basis of their claim on him as masters according to the rules mentioned above, and if the place he has run away to is British territory, then some false charges of theft, etc., are manufactured against him and either coerced into surrender or got arrested. There are laws regulating slavery even today. In a few of the States, they have been abolished but only in name. In practice they are in force as ever. These communities too have become inured to slavery. It is useless to repeat here the tortures inflicted upon them. They have already been touched upon in Chapter XIV. No doubt there are some individuals in Ravana Rajputs and other communities who

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have begun to feel the humiliation their communities are subjected to and are trying to ameliorate their lot. But they are far and few between and hence insignificant. The following extracts from the Slavery Law enacted by the Jodhpur State which out-herods herod will throw a flood of light on the condition of the slaves, and the mentality of the princes towards them:—

* * * * *

(*f*) "If the Darogas deviate from service commensurate with the position and requirements of the master, *he is legally entitled to take adequate service.*

If the number of Darogas (slaves) exceeds the position and requirements of the master, he may keep the requisite number and discharge the rest who *shall however when summoned attend, marriage and other ceremonies in the master's house and live there for such time as he chooses.* He shall give them bread.

Rajputs who have Darogas (slaves) born under their roofs and have brought them up shall be entitled to give away

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the daughters of these Darogas in dowry along with their own daughters. Rajputs of the position *shall be entitled to give away in dowry whole families of the Darogas,*

The master shall be entitled to give away in dowry the daughters of *even those Darogas who having exceeded in number the position and requirements of the master have sought employment elsewhere.*"

* * * *

This has been repealed recently, bnt only in name to hoodwink the outside world.

Factory Labourers.

The condition of the factory labourers is no less heart-rending than that of the agricultural labourers and slaves. They have generally to work for 12 or 13 hours a day from five in the morning till 7 or 7-30 in the evening. To give typical instances, in Kishengarh Mill and Gulabpura (Mewar) Ginning Factories, they have to work from 6-30 and 5 in the morning to 7 and 7-30 p. m. in the evening, respectively.

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The scale of wages for this 11 to 14 hours working day is as follows, men from six to eight annas* per day, women from four to five annas and under-age boys and girls from three to four annas a day. Even these scanty wages are cut down on scanty pretexts. Even five minutes delay, due to whatever cause or reason, will make the poor labourer lose his half day's wage. All the absences, no matter whether due to illness or injury received while working, are counted and not paid for.

There are no housing arrangements made by the employers for the labourers. The quarters in which they live are made by other peoples. But they are built solely from the point of view of squeezing the maximum of rent for a minimum of ill-ventilated place from the labourers. Even a cursory glance at them will reveal the fact that they are not meant for human habitation. Perhaps the quarters built by wealthy men in the cities for their dogs are better than these. If some

* One anna is generally equal to 1½ d.

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have their doors broken, the others do not have proper roofs. The result is that no labourer likes to keep even his provisions which serve him for two days inside these holes due to the fear of thieves etc. Many prefer to live in the villages and so they have to come and go all the way long from four to eight miles every day. To reach the factories at the proper time they, therefore, have to start from their place at 3 or 3-30 a. m. And as it is dark and as there are no provisions made for their protection by their employers or rulers, it is not uncommon that they are attacked and robbed by thieves in the way. But the worst part of the tale is yet to come. They are also exploited by the Banias (merchant class)- the present day shylocks. They fully well know that they (labourers) having neither the requisite time to buy the better and cheaper provisions from other shops or towns nor the sufficient money to do so, will have to buy howsoever rotten stuff at whatever rates they will sell. Thus, taking advantage of their helplessness and poverty they give him the worst stuff at the highest rate. It is like striking a dead horse.

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Pass as they do through the milestones of slavery they do not even get time to bathe and wash their bodies and clothes. By the time they are free from abulitions etc, after returning from the work, it becomes at least 8–30 p. m. Then, they have to cook their food. Many even have to grind their corn in addition to it. It means at least 7 p. m. Then, haunted as they are, always with the spectre of early rising, they naturally go to bed as soon as they have finished with cooking, eating and cleansing utensiles. Again in the morning they rise at 2 p. m. and as soon as they have done with their abulitions etc they begin to cook their food. If they are family men, the male members look after their children while the female members grind corn and cook the food. No sooner the cooking is over, they start for the work with their bread wrapped in a dirty rag. In these circumstances, they hardly get time, as we have already said, to bathe and wash their bodies and clothes, except on holidays. The result of all these conditions is congestion, all round filthiness, pestilence and untimely deaths.

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As we have already said, that even old men and under-age boys and girls are employed. They render all sorts of works to satisfy their cravings of thirst and hunger. But they are not given even those facilities which it is considered to be given even to animals. For instance, miltched cows in their times of pregnancy are specially taken care of, and given special kind of nourishment. If any domestic animal becomes invalid or sick, it is given every sort of medical aid. But these poor labourers are not given even these facilities. Nothing to say of the maternity benifits, they are not given any compensation even if they die or lose their limbs permanently, due to the injuries received while working. Generally no bonus is given. Whenever it is given, it never reaches the pocket of the poor labourers. For, the employers earmark a lump sum for this purpose and leave its distribution in the hands of staff, who, as is natural, distribute it generally among clerks, heads of the departments and their favorites. Nor there are seperate hospitals for them, and the town hospitals in which they are sent or have to go are too apathetic to be useful to them. There nobody can get good

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medicine unless he gives something to the doctor or the compounder. Even if they have to secure sick certificates, to save themselves from the double cuts in wages, they must pay the doctor. Of course after the devil has been paid, even a healthy man can get certificate or become an indoor patient.

In short, this is the condition of those upon whose sweet labour the employers batten and fatten and amass wealth, who are made men by God but are forced by their masters to lead a beastly life. Nay, they are actually treated like beasts. Every command given to them must be punctuated with some or other of the abuses. Every slightest exhibition of self-respect on their part must be followed by the strokes of shoes or battons.

That factories and mills in Indian States can get sufficient labourers for their work even under such wretched and unbearable conditions is proof positive of the fact that the people in Indian States could never satisfy the cravings of hunger.

Can we talk of education, civilization and its ameneties for these people under such conditions?

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CHAPTER XVII.

Present Conditions.

The nature of the people.

Here it will not be amiss to say something on the general nature of the public as a whole. In the States people are by nature extremely peace-loving, and not quarrelsome. They are very industrious too. As for tolerance in them it has reached its excess. Of course in States, there is a considerable number of such clans or communities who had their own republics in former days. Among them the names of Bhils or Pallavas, Mehars, Mev, Koli, Shondiya, Mavley etc., may be mentioned. In Assam, United Provinces, Bengal, Madras and in other British Indian Provinces there are many communities even existing today who in former times had their own republics. Their internal organisation, their rites and habits still present traces of the past republican spirit. Even today, the spirit of sacrifice, unity and the will to die that we see in them is rarely found elsewhere. Even today, they obey orders of no Government but through their own elders and headmen. That is why the govern-

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ments always give bribes and concessions to their headmen and elders in order to keep them subservient to them. In many States, solely due to this, they are totally exempted from the land-tax. Amongst such communities, an important one that of Bhils and Grasias who inhabit the north-western borders of Rajputana and eastern ones of Gujrat is worth noticing. The whole of the province being hilly they do not live together. There, each place between two hills is inhabited by one family. The peasant builds his hut on any corner of the hill and uses the tract lying between the two hills as his field. Beyond that hill there is another hut and field belonging to some other family and so on. In this way, a village covers from 6 to 8 square miles. There people are so self-reliant that people of other provinces are simply wonderstruck when they see them. Neither they depend on carpenter nor on blacksmith. Neither they need any tailor nor any washerman, neither shoe-maker nor mason. In short, each peasant knows all these arts and crafts by himself. They need no other machinery or men besides theirs to protect them and administer their affairs.

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So for as clothings are concerned, of course, they are dependent on others. Neither they know how to cultivate cotton nor to spin and weave clothes. On the other hand, the states provide them neither with elementary education nor with other means of civilizing. That is why there is not a single school for them, though they are millions in number. Nay, no public worker, not even a social worker, is allowed to approach and educate them. To out-herod herod, they are called wilds and treated like beasts. If they raise their protests against Begar and such other atrocities they are murdered like insects. If they agitate to ameliorate their lot they have to face the volleys of bullets charged by the British armies. Their thatches and villages are burnt. Though the soil is almost barren and the country mountaineous, yet they are taxed very heavily, and all these tyrannies are practised upon them for the sole sole reason that they may not raise their heads again.

Apparently it seems that majority of them have been overawed by these atrocities and repression, yet if one will probe deep he can see

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the terrible currents of discontent running within their hearts. That is why they loose no opportunity to raise their heads again and throw off the yoke of tyranny whenever they can do so. But the pity of it is that no one considers it duty even to think of them. There is reason for this also. There is practically no education in the states. In almost all the states which have an income between 10 to 20 lacs there is only one high School and that too in the capital. In the villages there are no schools though the villagers are forced to pay the education cess. Nay, even if the public wants to start a school of its own it is obstructed rather than encouraged, To illustrate let us give here some clauses from a typical order issued by the Education Department of the Jodhpur State:—

(1) "No person shall be permitted to teach in any school in Marwar unless he satisfies a duly anthorised officer of the State Educational Department that he is qualified to teach the subject he proposes to teach.

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On application or otherwise, a certificate of competency granted under this section shall be given in writing duly signed and the subjects which the teacher is competent to teach shall be mentioned therein.

(2) "Any person found teaching in any school in Marwar who does not posses a certificate of competency in writing signed by a duly authorised officer of the State Educational Department shall be liable to a fine not exceeding Rs. 25/- for each occasion he is proved to have taught.

(3) "No person who has obtained a certificate of compentency shall teach any secular subject other than those mentioned in the certificate of competency. If he is proved to have done so, he will be liable to a fine not exceding Rs. 10/- for each occasion on which he proved to have done so.

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(6) "A muster roll of all boys learning at the school shall be maintained and

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kept upto date and be at all times open to inspection by duly authorised officers of the State.

(7) "Whenever any school is opened information of its opening shall be forthwith sent to the Superintendent of Education together with the name of teacher. When any school is closed intimation shall be similarly sent.

(8) .....Failure on the part of the teacher to comply with any reasoable order that may be issued to him in respect of such matters by duly authorised officers of the Educational Department will render the teacher liable to fine."

There are similar orders in hundreds of the Indian States. The reason is obvious for they think it dangerous to give education to the masses. Like Satan they feel pleasure in keeping and treating them, whom God and Nature have made independent and human beings, like beasts and slaves.

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On the other side, as we have already said that the people of British India and England have always been indifferent to their fate. For them as if one-third part of India does not exist on earth. Owing to this State of affairs in the States there is naturally no independent newspaper or public opinion. The papers of British India too hardly come forward to espouse their cause. And if they do it after repeated pursuations and requests they do it inadequately. Even the most important and tragic material is given an obscure place in the newspaper. No doubt there are some sympathetic papers too, but they must be construed as exceptional and personal cases. And inspite of all these, if there is some agitation owing to some special reasons or circumstances, the silver bullets of the princes are there before which even the sense of duty has to give way.

On account of all these reasons, though the vision of the people of Indian States have become

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sufficiently narrow and selfish yet they are profusely grateful to any one who suffers for their cause. For him, they are ready to lay down even their life.

The Christian missionaries are given special facilities to serve these people if they will. About the public workers of their own countries the Indian States are always proverbially suspicious. Of course they have no suspicions about the missionaries. They are given free hand to work among these people. But our these worthy friends take more pains and are much more anxious to have a man converted than to improve his conditions. They almost taboo the questions of their woes and grievances. Primarily they spend all the money, which they bring from European countries by means of their manufactured propaganda of civilizing the natives, in the cities in erecting palatial buildings and church. And if anyhow, some of them reach the village they think more of taking advantage of their miseries in favour of their mission of conversion than of helping the suffering souls. Nor can it be said that they can not do anything

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to improve their lot. There are numerous hardships and barbarities inflicted upon them like begar, slavery, inhuman tortures and punishments; absence of educational provisions and facilities, spread of intoxicants through the State and the consequent demoralisation of the people, unjust and arbitrary limitations on the freedom of their living, eating, dressing, wearing ornaments etc., absence of the freedom of speech, writing, organisation, and action even in matters social, economic, and educational. Therefore, every one of them can take any of these questions if he wills and thus help the poor just in the spirit of the savior, the Christ. But they do not. It is due to this fact that they are never received by the public at large with real sympathy and love and, though they spend millions together with all the energy and devotion yet the toiling millions–at least those of the Indian States–get no benifits from them or their activities.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Present Conditions.

The Awakening in Indian States.

Nor can it be said that the people of Indian States have done nothing to improve their lot. No doubt, divided as they are, into more than 500 tracts and situated mostly at far off distances from each other, or one group from the other, and also in many States the people being barred from doing anything conjointly with the peoples of the neighbouring territories, it was almost impossible for them to work under one organisation from the very beginning. Therefore whatever was done in the beginning was done individually and in isolated manner. And, as it was natural, they had to pass through the ordeal of the most barbarous repression. For instance a gentleman started a newspaper from the adjoining British territory—Mhow Cantonment—to ventilate the grievances of the people of Indore State. The State having no jurisdiction in the Cantonment, began to persecute him through clandestine means. The Cantonment authorities too connived at its

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dealings. The result was that the publication of the paper ceased and the Editor had to take shelter in Ujjain—a town in Gwalior territory. Here too he was dogged by the unscruplous hirelings of the Indore State. They made acquaintance with the man and one day persuaded him to go with them to the Railway Station. The man followed his new friends but in the way, he got suspicious and tried to return. Thereon, the mercenaries of the Indore State tried to take him forcibly and when he resisted he was beaten to death. At last the case was taken to the court and it was not without much pressure, exercised by the Gwalior State, in whose territory the murder was committed, that the accused who could not escape or were re-arrested, were brought to book and punished. Similarly, one Mr. Laxmanrao had also to stop his publication and leave Ajmer because of the persecutions of the hirelings of the Jaipur State supported by local mercenaries, against whose tyranny he wrote and agitated. The case of Pandit Jagdish is also worth mentioning. How the Ajmer Government and Kishangarh State joined hands in persecuting

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him, how all the charges brought against him and on whose basis warrants and rewards were issued against him, failed, how he was extradited from Ajmer—a British territory—and how afterwards having been acquitted in all the charges he was sentenced to an imprisonment of five years simply for escaping from the Police custody, and lastly, how he had to die in the prison is a tale the recollection of which simply is blood-curdling. And this was their treatment with the educated public workers. As to how the illiterate masses were ruthlessly suppressed whenever they tried to raise their heads, the less said the better.

In short the people did try to ameliorate their conditions but almost every time they were suppressed heartlessly by the combined forces of the British Government and the Indian States. Nay, hardly there was any dark chamber method which was not resorted to and any law which was not broken, to gain their nefarious and unholy purposes.

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British India too, was so indifferent towards them that its papers did not record even the most ontrageous atrocities inflicted upon them. And then what could poor British India do, even if it wished. It had its own problems to face and solve. Moreover, it was too weak and timerous to meddle in the affairs of the Indian States. Even as late as 1914 when the author took the question of the Indian States in general in his hands, the newspapers of British India were reluctant to write any thing against their maladministration, and the people trembled with fear at the mere idea of paper-agitation. And it was not without much difficulty that one or two papers were pursuaded to take up the cause of the people of Indian States, and though when he established his head-quarters at Ajmer, the organised power of the peasants of many of the States was at his back, yet none of the mean and subteranean methods were left, which were not

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employed to crush him and his organisations. He wished, he could totally avoid these personal references, but he felt, if he was to perform his duty of exposing how the bureaucracy tramples upon its own laws to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny in the Indian States, and how in the name of the Parliament and the people of England it propagates and protects barbarism through the things in the authenticity of which he has no doubt, he must mention at least one incident of his own experience.

It was in 1922 that the Government alarmed at the strength and organisation of the peasants of some of the States decided to crush them and their helpers. A conspiracy was hatched out and the meetings of the police officers of the States concerned and those of Ajmer–a British territory–were held. Then in order to know all the ins and outs of our movements and organisations they felt the necessity of getting access to

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our papers. But that was not a difficult task for them. They simply knocked the doors of the local court and got the search warrant issued under the pretence that we were going to disseminate some seditious materials. The search was affected and almost two cart-loads of papers and manuscripts were taken into police custody. According to law they could remove anything thus searched and taken into possession only after they had prepared a complete list of the contents and had got it signed by the two eye-witnesses and the owner. But nothing of the sort was done. We were not allowed even to seal the boxes in which the papers were locked. Then, almost all the representatives of the police of the neighbouring States were summoned and they were allowed to ransack our papers freely, in order to achieve their unholy purpose. And when due to our effective protests it had to give up that unconstitutional procedure and when searching questions were put about the incident

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in the Parliament and the Indian Legislature, it tried to save its skin by giving false replies to some of the questions and evasive to others. To be brief, it was after a long and bitter struggle, that it had allowed some organisations of the workers in Indian States to exist even in British territories. This does not mean that after that, the public work was allowed to have its own way. Its mischievous activities continue even today. For instance, the settlement of Bijolia may be cited. It was affected between the State and the peasantry through the mediation of Mr. R. E. Holland, the then Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana but, as it was the strength of the organised peasantry before which they had to yield and to give the people full control over the education of their children and to recognise the newly organised village Panchayats (councils) and had to abolish about seventy oppressive taxes including Begar, they did not mean to abide by it.

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That is why, as soon as Mr. Holland retired and the intrigues of the State officials succeeded in weakening the organisations of the peasantry, the present Agent to the Governor-General has allowed the Udaipur State to go back over the terms of its agreement.

The conditions in the States of other provinces are also the same. The people of the States in Kathiawar have their political conference but it can not open its lips against any of the Indian States. The public workers of those States also have to keep their offices in, and to publish their newspapers from British territories. Similar is the condition of almost all the States in Northern India. The people of most of the States like those of Hyderabad, Miraj, etc. have to hold their political conferences almost always in the British territories. Nay, even those who participate in these conferences have to bear the brunt of the displeasure of the State officials.

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CHAPTER XIX.

Fresh Manœuvres.

We have already said, how, after the failure of the British Government to allay the discontent by throwing the cold waters in the form of Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and after having been dis-illusioned by the Non-co-operation movement about its success in keeping the Hindus and Muslims divided for ever, its manœuvres took quite a different turn. Upto this time it had carefully kept the States quite unsophisticated from the new political currents. But now it encouraged them to take part in it. In Legislative Assembly, too, when the resolution demanding further Reforms came up, it was said from the Government-side, "The first question was: would Indian Princes accept today the transfer of responsilibity to Indian Legislature so for their relations were concerned"* As for

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* See the speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Home Member, which he delivered to explain the attitude of the Government on the motion of Mr. Rangachariar on constitutional Advance.

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the princes themselves they were and are mere tools in the hands of the power that be. That is why, when in 1920-21 the author along with some other public workers and friends of India States raised the question of modifying the treaties so as to suit the present situation and circumstances, it was the present Maharaja of Bikaner who proclaimed first from his house top to the effect that "we want no alterations in the treaties whatsoever. We want the *Status quo.*" Now he is the first to raise the question of determining the exact status and place of the princes in the future polity of this country. On the other side, the Government of India appointed Sir Frederic Whyte to write a book on Federation. Sir Whtye did it and took great pains to prove that uniformity in administration and constitution was not a *conditio Suie qua non* to the formation of the Federation.

The Princes also, on this sile, convened a Conference of some Maharajas and talented ministers at Bikaner and discussed the situation

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Some of their opinions from the memoranda prepared therein are given below :—

General Memorandum.

In view of the following circumstances which directly or indirectly affect the interests of Indian States and their subjects.

* * * * *

The following suggestions have been made on this subject :—

(1) The inclusion of a member chosen from among Indian States, in the Viceregal Council. This will give an opportunity for the presentation of the points of view of the Indian States, while matters of administration touching them are being considered by the Viceroy and his Council, e. g., Defencc and external relations and questions of All-India importance, like currency, tariff, posts and telegraphs.

(2) Representation of Indian States in the Indian bodies—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly or in the Council of State alone. This will give an opportunity for the discussion of the

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questions affecting Indian States in matters of legislation of All-Indian importance like tarrifs, fiscal legislation, currency and posts and telegraphs, while the legislation is still in the formative stage.

(3) A new body comprising representatives of British Indian Provinces and Indian States constituted on lines somewhat similar to the League of Nations. This will be a loose-knit and elastic organisation, in that it gives room for open discussion and better understanding between the British Provinces and Indian States, on matters of All-India importance of the kind referred to, but without a binding force, unless subsequently and voluntarily assented to by the States and Provinces individually. Such discussion may be profitable to the various Governments, in taking final decisions on such matters.

(4) The institution of body comprising representatives of Indian States, through which matters affecting Indian States

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particularly as well as matters of All-Indian importance, which touch the States and Provinces generally, will pass either before or after they are dealt with by the general Legislative bodies. This will be a third Chamber and will place before the Government of India the points of view of Indian States on the questions referred to.

(5) Representation of Indian States on special Boards and Commissions of Enquiru. It is desirable that Indian States should be allowed representation on the Tarrif Board and Commissions of enquiry working in India (including Royal Commissions) except when such Commissions relate purely to the internal administration of British Indian Provinces.

(6) The formation of a Customs Union on the model of the German Zollverein consisting of representatives of both British Indian Provinces and Indian States. This may offer a solution to the much contested question in regard to the share of Customs Revenue rightly claimed by the Indian

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States, protection versus free trade and other alike problems in particular, and general questions of economic development. Such a Union may be entrusted with shaping legislation in matters of tarrif, posts and telegraphs and other sources of revenue, where, though the services are rendered in common by the Central Government, the Indian States also contribute a large share towards that revenue.

(7) It is also necessary to press for a readjustment of financial relations between the Indian States and the Government of India, in so far as it relates to the subsidies aud expenditure on Defence under the fifteen percent scheme, in view of the share received by the Government of India under Customs Revenue and other indirect taxes on the commodities consumed in the Indian States.

Position of Indian States.

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If the scheme sketched in this note is adopted, the Indian States will, occupy a far more important

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and dignified position, consistent with the fast interests which they represent.

As regards questions which affect British India and Indian States in common, the proposals made above will give the States an effective voice in the shaping of imperial policy which they lack at present. The representatives of Indian States in the Imperial Legislature will ensure that imperial questions are discussed from all points of view including that of the States.

The scheme outlined above will, it is confidently expected, satisfy all reasonable requirements of the present situation and lead gradually to the fruition in good time of the ideal of its confederacy of Indian States and British Provinces under the suzerainty of Great Britain.

Finally, it is necessary to add, that the ventual solution of responsible government in India would seem to lie as is indeed, generally recognized in the direction of a great All-India federation, comprising as well the territories under indigeneous rule as the provinces now directly administered by the British Government. Each such territory or

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province will presumably be a constituent state within the federation, whatever may be the type of that federal government and will, while retaining full control over its internal policy and administration possess a voice commensurate with its importance in the determination of all matters affecting the federation as a whole. The question whether the Indian States to ask for representation in both houses of the federal parliament or not, is a matter of detail, which is to be decided when the Government of India is reconstituted after the enquiry of 1929. At that enquiry, the Indian States should press for an Indian Federal Parliament with two Chambers, both considerably enlarged and should also ask for their own proportionate representation in both houses.

Appendix 1.

Draft Synopsis of a note on the position of the Indian States in a possible Indian Federation.

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Means of Consultation.

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There must be a legislative body with a final voice. Is this to include the States or exclude them ? The most straight forward course seems be to let representation go with the taxation that is levied from them. The best suggestion made yet seems to be to narrow the functions and enlarge the constitution of the Council of State.

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Appendix 3.

Brief notes read at the informal conference on the 2nd August 1926 by Rajatantra Pravina Dr. Sir Brajendranath Seal, Kt. D. Sc., Ph. d.

The Government of India has to be considered in a twofold aspect:—

(1) So far as it represents the suzerain power, in relation to the Indian States, and (2) so far as it is the Central Executive Government in relation to the Central and Provincial legislatures. In this latter aspect, the Government is to become more and more responsible to the people of India.

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An Indian State has also a twofold aspect namely, the Ruler and his subjects. Here also some of the States are developing institutions of representative government.

Now the Indian States have a semi-sovereign Status, while they have sovereignty in relation to internal affairs, they have no jurisdiction in the sphere of foreign or inter-State relations.

And under treaties or pacts even the internal sovereignty may be a limited one.

(i) Paripasu with radical changes in the constitution of the Government of India, the relations of the Government of India, as representing the Suzerain British power to the Indian States may also be liberalised-in other words, the rights of the suzerain power may be adjusted and adopted to modern political ideas and conditions.

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II. Next we may consider the relation of the Indian States to the Government of

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India as consisting of the Executive and the literature.

Here, the fundamental point to bear in mind is that both the Government of India and the Indian States are becoming more and more representative in character, with ultimate responsibility to the peoples. The fundamental question therefore is whether we should move towards a League on the League of Nations plan or to a federation on any of the several plans available, whether North American, Canadian, South African or Australian.

Now as far as the British Indian Provinces are concerned they must move towards a federation. It is a moot question whether the Federation should be of a compound commonwealth type with small revisionary and residual powers for the Central Government, or on the other hand, of a centralising or unitary type with considerable revisionary and residual powers. But that a federation is necessary admits of no reasonable doubt.

But will this type suit the needs of the British Indian provinces. For these Indian provinces much

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can be said in favour of a centralising type: Past Indian history has always moved to the goal of a central Empire, but this has always broken up because of the vast and diversified congeries of peoples comprised in this sub-continent. I believe that unity in diversity, and not uniformity, is called for in the historical and physical conditions of India, and a federation of the Compound Commonwealth type would be more suitable—the federal Government being concerned with problems of defence, customs, transport trade rights and company law, inter-State or international law currency and exchange.

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Note by Rajadharma Pravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrashekhar Iyer B. A., B. L.

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As a distant step in the direction in which we are bound, and at the same time offering a reasonably satisfactory method of dealing with questions of the hour, I would advocate the establishment of an All-India Conference (or

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standing committee) with Head quarters at Delhi on which the larger Indian States would be individually represented and the smaller ones in convenient groups, along with the various major provinces of British India as also the Government of India as standing for the Imperial government. In this way all the responsible administrations in India will be duly represented on the Conference—a point of great importance. Each State or group of States and each province will be looked upon as a single organic unity, and on all questions coming up for consideration, will be expected to speak with a single voice. The idea of seperate representation for a popular element as such, or for other individual interests within a given territory, is, it is hardly necessary to observe, precluded by our conception of the part which is to be assigned to the Conference. The delegates, of course, will be carefully chosen and will ordinarily be statesmen, administrators or publicists possessed of the necessary ability, experience and knowledge, and assisted by a bureau of constitutional and financial advisers and secretaries.

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From the above it will be evident to the readers that at that time the princes were more inclined to adjust themselves with British India by forming a sort of confederation. Though being inured to autocracy, they did not like to part with their powers, yet now they were feeling that they must affect reforms in their internal administration if they were really to succeed in their plans. They were also prepared for it, because they were feeling that the responsibility of making the confederation a success rested more upon the shoulders and co-operation of the Indian States and the Government of India—British India—than on the aid of any outside agency. But just at this psychological movement an Englishman Sir Charles Todhunter, the then Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Mysore, came on the scene and threw the apple of discord in the form of a note from which the following extracts are taken :—

"The following may be stated to be common essentials of a federation, The preservation of the autonomy in State matters of the component states.

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Common action for the production of labour in respect of such matters as factory laws, hours of labour, employment of women and children and emigration.

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Common action (this is a comparatively new development) in respect of the restriction of drink and drug habits and immoral trades.

* * * * *

AUTONOMY—The matter of the progress of the Provinces towards autonomy is a matter between them and the Government of India. The autonomy of the States is provided by treaty, and the questions that arise in regard to it have to do with such matters as succession, case of mis-government, courts of arbitration and commissions of enquiry. *The main point to be insisted upon at present in this regard is that the States' treaties are with the British Government and that, in view of the increasing democratisation of the Government of India, it is essential to insist that transactions in such matters should be with persons responsible solely to the British Parliament and to His Majesty the King-Emperor.*"

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This totally changed the trend of the discussion, the poison of the mischeivous suggestion began to work. Now the princes, instead of coming closer to, and co-operation with, British India began to think of achieving their object, by establishing direct relation with the Crown. This, in it, had not only the temptation of raising their status equal—though it was a sheer hallucination—to the Government of India but also of keeping themselves aloof from the influence of the coming democracy in British India, which they were taught to dread from the very beginning, and of saving themselves from the distasteful business of parting with their autocratic powers by effecting reforms in their internal administration. The Government, too, arranged a joint conference of the Princes, ministers, Residents, and political agents which met at Simla. What transpired at this conference and how it nourished and fed the above-mentioned mischievous theory is needless to relate. Suffice it to say, that since that moment the mentality of the princes was completely changed. Now nationalist India was tabooed, and the sole agency of their confidence was given to sun-dried

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bureaucrats and their henchmen. A deputation of diehards like Sir Rushbrook Williams and Col. Hasker was sent to England. The advocate chosen to prepare and present their case was also an Englishman. Then as a result of all this, to legalise all these pre-meditated plans and schemes, came the following announcement for the appointment of the Butler Committee.

It has been decided by the Secretary of State to appoint a committee to report upon the relationship between the *Paramount power* and the *Indian States* with the *particular reference* to the rights and obligations arising from Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, and usage, Sufferance and other causes; secondly, to *enquire into the financial and economic relations between British India and the States*; and thirdly, to make any recommendation that they may consider desirable or necessary for *their more satisfactory adjustment*. The committee will be composed as follows:— CHAIRMAN—His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, Governor of Burma. MEMBERS—The Honorable Sidney Peel and W. S. Holdsworth, K. C., Venerian Professor in English Law.

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CHAPTER XX.

Fresh Manœuvres.

Vox Populi.

These activities of the princes, naturally gave rise to apprehensions in the minds of the people. They become perturbed. But within their states they could not even open their lips, to give vent to their feelings. And so at last they resolved to hold their "All India States' Peoples' Conference" somewhere in British Indian territory to consider the situation. At last the venue was selected. It was Bombay where it met on the 16th and 17th of the December last amidst scenes of great enthusiasm and with extra-ordinary success.

The Conference was very important from many points of view. In fact it was a landmark in the history of the awakening of the Indian States People. Firstly, the atmosphere was totally free from the influence of any other conference unlike the former ones which used to meet side by side with the Indian National Congress. And though it was a place far off situated from a considerable

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number of Indian states and though very little time and energy were devoted in its preparations and propaganda yet the success it met was a unique one. More than 80 big Indian States were represented in it. The representatives too comprised all classes and shades of opinion. While on the one hand, there were, among the representatives, wealthy Marwarees, Cutchhees, Kathees, etc., on the other hand, there were representatives of Bhils, peasants, and labourers sitting side by side with Prince Dhairya Sheel Rao of Baroda. The prominent public men and politicians of British India also graced the conference with their presence among whom the names of Sir Purshottam Dâss Thakurdass, Sir Firoze Sethna, Sir Lallobhai Samaldass, Prof. K. T. Shah, Syed Abdullah Brelvey, Editor the "Bombay Chronicle" and Atiya Begum may be mentioned. Mr. Goverdhandass Ladhabhai, President elect of the Rajkot legislative Assembly and Dr. Sumant Mehta of Baroda and Mr. F. Brockway, Labour M. P. were also present. Dewan Bahadur Ramchandra Rao who formerly occupied the chair of the Deputy-presidentship of the Indian Legislative Assembly, presided.

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After two days deliberations, the Conferenee passed among others the following important Resolutions :—

4.—This Conference declares that it is the inherent right of the people of the Indian States to determine the form and character of their Government and to bring about therein such changes as they deem proper.

5.—This Conserence urges upon the rulers of the States :—

(*a*) that representative institution be established in the States on an elective basis in the sphere of local self-government and also for the purpose of legislation, taxation and control of general administration ;

(*b*) that the budgets of the States should be submitted to the votes of popular assemblies ;

(*c*) that the revenues of the States should be separated from the personal expenditure of the Princes and that the civil list should

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also be submitted to the vote of the popular assemblies; and

(*d*) that there should be an independent judiciary, that the judicial functions be separated entirely from the executive in every State and that the personal intervention of the Princes in the administration of justice should cease absolutely.

6.—This Conference of Indian States' People urges :—

That for a speedy attainment of Swarajya for India as a whole the Indian States should be brought into constitutional relations with British India and the people of the Indian States should be assigned a definite place and effective voice in all matters of common concern in any new constitution that may be devised for the whole of India.

7.—This Conference is of opinion that the plea put forward that the Indian Princes have treaty obligations to the British crown wholly indepen-

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dent of the Government of India for the time being has no foundation whatever and is detrimental to the attainment of Swarajya for India as a whole.

8.—This Conference records its emphatic opinion that the elementary rights of citizenship such as, the right of association and meeting, right of free speech, right of free press, and security of person and property have been hitherto denied to the people in a great many States, and that these rights should be publicly acknowledged by the Princes in a Proclamation duly promulgated and further secured by suitable laws.

11—This Conference is of opinion that the system of education that is now imparted to the Kumars in the Rajakumar Colleges is both ill-conceived and ill-suited and has the effect of denationalising them.

12—This Conference urges:—

(a) that the present policy of intervention in the internal affairs of the Indian States is not based on any definite principles;

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(*b*) that such intervention has not been generally exercised for the promotion and safeguarding of the rights of the people ; and

(*c*) that the principles on which such intervention is made should be clearly defined, codified and published.

13.—In view of the fact that an Expert Committee has been appointed by the Secretary of State for India in Council at the request of the Indian Princes and without any reference to and representaion of the people of the Indian States, this Conference is of opinion that any enquiry conducted by the Committee will seriously prejudice the rights and liberties of the people and unduly increase their burdens and therefore the conclusions arrived at by the committee under these circumstances will be wholly unacceptable to them.

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14—This Conference views with grave concern and alarm the growing tendency of several Princes to spend a considerable period of their time every year outside their States entailing on their States and the people considerable expenditure from State revenues.

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CHAPTER XXI.

Fresh Manœuvres.

The Butler committee and States' people.

We have already seen the views that the public held in general about the Butler committee and its activities. Though it had ignored the people almost criminally, nevertheless it was given many opportunities to make amends for the blunder it has committed. Several responsible organisations of the different groups of the Indian States sounded the committee to hear the peoples' point of view. The General Secretary of the All India States' Peoples' conference himself wrote to the committee, but in vain. The committee replied in the same evasive manner which is characterestic of diehards' committees. It said "The committee is not empowered by its terms of reference to deal with the relations between the Indian States and its subjects and they are therefore not in a position to accept the evidence of public bodies and private individuals either written or oral in regard to their subject."

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But when it could not maintain its original illogical position it half-heartedly climed down and wrote that "the committee regrets that they are unable to hear you orally, but they will be glad to receive a memorandum from you on all matters within their terms of reference regarding which you may wish to state your opinion and give your views." But no self-respecting people could acquiescese to such a humiliating position.

At last, when the Butler committee after making tours in certain Indian States and after enjoying costly dinners and pompous shows and hospitalities at the expense of the poor rayat, was leaving the shores of India, some of the Indian rulers, on behalf of the standing committee of the Chamber of Princes, presented the following scheme. From the very beginning, every offort was made to keep all the activities of the Princes in this concern strictly secret. As is usual in this country, every thing has been done and is

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being done to keep the people in dark regarding all matters concerning Indian States. But the truth like the murder is always out, and so the whole scheme leaked out, which is as follows:—

"Stricitly Confidential.

Document No. 4

Scheme For Consideration At the Meeting of April 19th At Bombay.

* * * * *

2. The scheme has been framed with a view to satisfying the following requirements:

(a) Effectively protecting the States in the enjoyment of the rights, political and economic, to which they are really entitled, thus facilitating their efforts to develop their resources and to advance their cause of good and beneficient government.

(b) Providing for joint consultation with British India in matters of common concern, with a view to common action,

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under conditions of reciprocity, with British India, in the interests of India as a whole and of the Empire.

(c) Providing for the exercise, under effective safeguards such as are specified in 5 (i) and (ii) below of certain ultimate powers of intervention in the event of gross mis-government, of flagrant injustice.

3. The scheme contemplates the creation of three new bodies, the Viceroy in Indian States Council, the Union Council (that is, the Indian States Council, and the Governor-general's council sitting together to settle matter of common concern) and the Union Supreme Court. It also contemplates the enlargement of the powers of the present Chamber of Princes and an improvement of the organisation and the functions of the political department.

The Indian States Council.

4. The Indian States Council will consist of the Viceroy as president, three representatives of the State (either Princes or ministers), two English members with no previous connection

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with India, and the head of the Political Department. It represents a natural development of the princes original idea of an advisory council.

5. The functions of the Indian States Council are set out in sub-clause (a) to (g) below, and the necessary safeguards, from the standpoint of the States, are enumerated under the appropriate sub-clause.

(a) Safeguarding the interests of States, and generally transacting, subject to the internal autonomy of the states, the business which arises concerning the States' side of India.

(b) Representing the States' side of India on the Union Council which will be competant to take decisions, subject to the safeguards indicated below, in matters of common concern to the States and British India.

Safeguards.

(1) The Viceroy and each member of the Indian States Council should subscribe to a solemn

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obligation to protect the interests of the States together with the constitutional rights, powers and dignities of the Princes and the Chiefs. The Viceroy may in future take a separate oath of office laying this duty upon him, and in the Patent of Appointment of each member of the Indian States Council, this obligation should find a place.

(2) The authority of the Indian States Council to commit the States to arrangements arrived at in the course of the negotiations with the Governor-General in Council upon matters of common concern will not be unrestricted. The standing committee of the chambers and the Indian States' Council will together work out general principles of policy which will be accepted by the Indian States council as a guide to the desire of the States in matters of common concern. Matters not covered by the general principles of policy so settled will require to be referred to the chamber, whose ratificatian of any proposed arrangement will be necessary before the authority of the Indian States' council on behalf of the States becomes effective. The Indian States' Council and the standing committee should moreover remain in close touch,

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and joint meetings might be utilised for the purpose of dealing with questions of emergency arising between the sessions of the chamber.

(3) Each individual state should have an opportunity, where its interests are particularly affected, to urge before the Indian States' Council its desires on special grounds either

(*a*) to modify in its own case a general arrangement settled in Indian States' council or in Union Council

or (*b*) to stand out of this arrangement altogether. The Indian States' Council will come to a decision upon the merits of each case.

(4) Each individual state will have the right to obtain from the Union Supreme court a ruling that any particular exercise of powers by the Indian States' Council, by the Union Council or by any representative of the Paramount power is unconstitutional and accordingly invalid.

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(5) In order to provide the Indian States' Council with a moral authority corresponding to that which the legislature may supply to the Governor-General in council, the functions of the Chamber of Princes will be enlarged and its importance increased. (see para 8 below)

(c) Advising the Viceroy as to the intervention by him in the event of gross misgovernment, of flagrant injustic in any state, in which case the constitutional responsibility for intervention will continue to rest upon him personally and exclusively subject to the condition that he shall first have consulted with and been advised by the Indian States' Council.

Safeguards.

In addition to the express condition embodied in Para (c):

I. Providing that before intervention takes place:

The facts of the case, unless admitted, must be established by a process of

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investigation to which the Prince or the State concerned shall be a party enjoying the normal presumption of innocence until the contrary is proved, and entitled to know and to meet all the evidence against him or it.

(ii) Providing that before tendering such advice the Indian States' Council shall afford to the Prince or State concerned an opportunity of presenting before the Indian States' Council his or its views or proposals.

(*d*) Directing and controlling the Political Department. (see para 9 below)

(*e*) Receiving references from the Chamber of Princes [see para 6 (iii.)] below or from any individual State upon matters requiring consideration or action.

(*f*) Referring any matters to the Chamber of Princes for consideration and advice; without limiting the above general power, a particular illustration as afforded by subjects personal to the Rulers, such as ceremonial dignities, and privileges.

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(g) Referring to the Union Supreme Court such questions of fact or Law, or both as any State or the Chamber of Princes may require to be so referred; or such other matters as the Indian States' Council may consider fit subjects for such reference.

The Union Council

6. As above stated, the Union Council will be composed of the Viceroy in Indian States' Council and the Governor-General in council in joint session, presided over by the Viceroy. The functions of the Union Council will be the consideration of and action upon subjects of common concern both to British India and States' India which will include,

(a) *The crown's obligation in regard to Defence and foreign affairs.*

(b) The promotion of the interests of India as a whole, including necessary adjustment of the interests between British India and Indian States, where the interests of the two sides are not identical.

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Safeguards.

(i) No power will be given to the Governor-General's council to outvote the Indian States' Council.

(ii) If a proposal from British India goes beyond the mandate of the Indian States council [see 5 b (ii) above], it can not be enforced against any State without that State's specefic consent.

(iii) If a proposal discussed in the Union Council does not commend itself to the Indian States' Council because of its anticipated consequences to the interests of the States, it will fail to receive the assent of the Union Council. Provision to meet such a case of deadlock requires careful consideration. A possible remedy might be found in giving the Viceroy powers of certification corresponding to those which the Governor-General enjoys in British India.

(iv) see 5 b (iv) above.

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7. The Union Supreme Court represents the logical development of the Princes' original idea of a court of Arbitration. It will be staffed by a chief justice and two other judges appointed for life on high salaries, selected from the best men in Great Britain.

Its functions will consist, generally, of providing an impartial tribunal to which constitutional and other justiciable matters in dispute can be referred, subject to the approval of the Privy Council, and in particular deciding,

(a) Disputes between the Indian States' Council or a State or States on the one hand, and the Paramount Power on the other hand, as to respective rights and obligations under treaties, agreements, and usage, sufferance or otherwise.

(b) Justiciable disputes between States.

(c) Whether any statute of British India affecting a State or any legislative act of State affecting British India is Ultra

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Vires and therefore of no effect in regard to such State or British India, as the case may be.

(d) Issue of Law or fact underlying any political dispute.

Safeguards.

(i) Where the issue before the Union Supreme Court is in the judgment of the court in a matter of constitutional right no plea of "Act of State" will be admissible.

(ii) The Union Supreme Court will have no jurisdiction over the person of a Ruling Prince.

(iii) The Union Supreme Court will have no power to intervene in the judicial machinery of any State. The Union Supreme Court will not be a British Indian Court but a court created by the Paramount power and the Princes jointly. It is possible that some States might like to utilise it as their own court of appeal

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conferring on it jurisdiction under rules of court made by themselves to hear appeals from their own High Courts. When so sitting, it might be entitled "The Union Supreme court sitting as court of appeal for the State of:—

Chamber of princes.

8. In order that the Chamber may not only perform all the functions originally proposed for it; but also further that it may be made an effective machinery for safeguarding the position and rights of the Princes, its power and influence must be increased by:—

(1) Giving it control over the standing orders and its agenda.

(2) Giving it the right of raising any matter it likes including with the consent of the State concerned, the affairs of an individual State.

(3) Giving it the right to refer any matter it likes to Indian States' Council for consideration and action and the further

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right to pass resolutions upon the action taken by the Indian States' Council.

(4) Giving it its own secretariat with its own paid secretary who will be responsible to the Chamber for the conduct of the Chamber's business, and who will provid a permanent link between the Chamber and the Viceroy through the Secretary of the Indian States' Council.

(5) The secretary of the Chamber, under the general supervision of the Chancellor and the standing committee, will be assisted by a special committee of ministers, appointed from time to time by the standing committee or the Chamber, either on their own initiative or on the suggestion of the Indian States' Council These committees will be summoned by the Secretary of the Chamber upon the direction of the Chancellor whenever necessary.

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(6) Providing in the Chambers' standing orders for committee's procedure in the Chamber with the Chancellor in the chair as when the House of Commons goes into committee and Speaker leaves the chair.

(7) Giving the Chamber some powers of final ratification over principles of policy provisionally adopted by the Indian States' Council in matters of common concern but not already worked out under the procedure suggested in 5 (b) (ii) above. It might also be prudent to apply some similar method of ratification, in matters affecting either the financial interests or internal sovereignty of the States, even to actual arrangements provisionally agreed to by the Indian States' Council.

(8) Providing seats in the Chamber for members of the Indian States' Council who will have the right to be present at sittings of the Chamber (when not in committee) but not to vote, and impose upon them the duty (a) when called upon by the president of addressing the Chamber upon specified subjects, and (b) of answering

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questions addressed to them under procedure to be laid down in the standing orders, by any member of the Chamber.

The Political Department.

9. The political department will be under the control and direction of the Indian States' council. Its future activities will be somewhat modified by the following provisions :—

(1) A limitation will be imposed, by Royal Proclamation or other appropriate means upon intervention in the affairs of the States (2) (c) above, and the Princes will be encouraged as well as authorised, to bring every transgression of this limit to the notice of the Indian states' Council or the Union Supreme Court according to the nature of the case, from whom the necessary redress can be obtained.

(2) A new manual of instructions to Political Officers will be framed by the Indian States' Council in consultation with the Chamber of Princes, wherein the duties

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of the Political Officers will be defined. This manual will not authorise interference with the domestic concerns of the States.

(3) The existing records of the Political Department will be transferred to the record office of the Indian States' Council or its officers and will be available to the scrutiny of the Prince or State concerned when a question arises affecting him or it.

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CHAPTER XXII.

Fresh Manœuvres.

The Constitutional and political aspects.

Now we have arrived at a stage where we should pause and discuss the constitutional and political position of the Indian States. No doubt very little remains to be said after the detailed description and discussions dealt with so far. Yet there are certain aspects of the problem, which if left untouched, would leave this book imperfect and incomplete.

So far as the question of statesmanship and practical politics is concerned, ninety-five per cent of the Indian Princes stand on the same level as their people do. Ninety percent of the Princes are as far away from present-day politics as North Pole is from the South. To day the whole of their politics ends in extorting the money from the people through cruel and barbarous ways and in leading the life full of luxury and corruption as depicted above. They do not even care to think whether they are advancing

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forward or retrogressing. When they are free from the influence of wine it is just possible that they might be thinking for a while about what is going on in the world and their future, but the moment the scarlet cup of wine touches their lips they forget everything. Whatever they could learn otherwise is prevented by their own mode of living and the environment in which they find themselves entrenched. From their very childhood, on the one hand, they are taught to keep themselves aloof from and look down the people in general; and on the other hand, they are kept surrounded by such men, who consider it a sin, to exhibit the least semblance of self-respect in their manner or treatment with the Princes, and to show the slightest disagreement with their cherished notions, crudities and absurdities. They are taught that the very news of their perusing nationalist newspapers and books is sufficient to bring in displeasure of the Resident and British Government. The result is that they are rendered totally unfit to live in the society. They become intolerant, suspicious and despots. Of course, there are some four or five Princes,

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who though acting as the gramophones of the Political Officers, think and pose themselvse in the plenitude of their wisdom, as politicians and statesmen. And this new move is the result of all their gew-gaw activities. Therefore even the Governmant was forced to admit that this scheme is not countenaced by all the Princes.

But that is by the way. To come to the real point, the whole edifice of the scheme rests upon the theory that Indian Princes are subordinate to the Crown. They have always called themselves loyal to the Crown. Even in their speeches they have repeatedly emphasised their loyalty to to the Crown–the Emperor. They have studiedly avoided others.

We will have to admit that for a man of average intelligence this is a puzzling mystery, for :—

(1) The Princes made treaties with the East India Company only when it became the ruling power of this country. In other words, they made treaties with it as a

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Government of India and not as the Government of England or with the King of England.

(2) Besides, the treaties were already made long before Charles II gave charter to the Company,

(3) At the same time the claim of the British Government that it is the paramount power in this country was based on similar theories. To quote Mr. Pannikar "The policy was based on the legal theory that the right of the Moghul Emperor has accrued to the British as a result of the displacement of the Padshah at Delhi following the mutiny. The British Crown claimed to stand forth not only in the place of the East India Company, with whom many of the states had treaties on the basis of equality, but put on itself the decayed mantle of the Moghul Empire and claimed the rights of sovereignty which Akbar and Shahjahan had enforced." In other words, if the British

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Government had assumed the reins of this country merely as a direct successor to the Company or on the basis of the Charter given to the Company it would have been necessary for it to treat the states as equals, according to the treaties made with them by the Company. But it claimed forth to stand and assumed the reins of this country as a direct successor to the old Government of India, the Moghul Padshahi and the Princes too accepted it in the same spirit.

(4) Moreover all the Princes who have been deposed upto this time, all the commissions appointed to investigate their cases and all the interventions and interferences by the Political Agents etc., have all been done by the order of the Governor-General in Council.

(5) The Political Department which has always ruled the destiny of these States has always been and is under the direct control of the Government of India.

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(6) It is the Government of India which deals with the foreign powers in all matters relating to India as a whole including Indian States.

(7) It is the Government of India and not that of England which sees that territorial rights given to the foreigners within the States are observed.

(8) It is the Government of India and not that of England which exercises jurisdiction over Railways, Telegraphs, Posts etc, within the States.

(9) It has been the right of the Government of India to regulate import and export duties.

(10) The tributes and grants of Imperial Defence Forces and Indian States Forces are shown in the Budget which is placed before the elected Legislative Assembly of British India and it gives its verdict over all these items.

(11) The Princes' Protection Act was also put before the legislature for its approval.

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(12) Besides, all the Princes are not of the same status. A considerable number of them has only the status like that of Feudatories. In these circumstances if all the so-called states are entitled to demand the recognition of their status as States why not the Jagirdars of these States should be granted the same. They also stand in the same position before the Princes as they themselves are before the Government.

In the face of all these facts it is really very difficult to understand the justification and reasonableness of the theory of direct relationship with the Crown.

And how can the claim of equality of status with Indian Government can stand the test? What comparison can there be between the Government of India with full international powers and status, and the poor, Indian Princes who are mere feudal chiefs. In these circumstances their claim is nothing but lunacy.

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The people of Indian States too do not wish to remain under the subjection of any power, foreign or indigenous, for ever. At the same time we can imagine of a Federation brought into existence with the joint efforts and agreement of the Princes, the people of Indian States, the British Indian people and the Government of India. But we can not conceive of a successful Federation in the creation of which neither is the share of the people of British India nor those of Indian States, of which everything has been decided and done by the Indian Rulers and the British Government and in which the administration of one (part) is of barbarous and autocratic type and that of other is of democratic character.

Then the right of forming Federations is that of Independent peoples and Governments and not of slave ones. The Federation of slaves may be a mere pawn or mere instrument in the hands of a third power to serve its own selfish ends, but it can not be a thing that will lead to prosperity and peace. It can only destroy its members by dividing them and by making them fall upon one anothers' throat.

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There is another great constituional difficulty against this claim of the Princes. The Princes too claim themselves to be loyal to the Crown, thereby meaning that they are subjects of the Crown. To give assurance of their loyalty has always been the theme and an important convention of all their ceremonial and official functions. Queen Victoria too in her Proclamation, addresing all her subjects including the princes had said "..... We hereby call upon all our *subjects* within the said territories to be faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and *successors*....."

In this proclamation the word *successors* is very significant. It clearly means and asks all the subjects of H. M. including princes, to be loyal to any government, besides the heirs of Her Majesty which succeeds them., may it be a republican one or of any other form.

That is why the word *successors* has been added to the word *heirs*. Then the conjunction between the words *heirs and successors* is *and* and not *or* which means that the word *successor* is to be interpreted quite independently. It can not be

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taken to have any relation with the word *heirs*. And as the Government of India or *Indian Swaraj Government* is becoming the successor of British Crown in this country constitutionally–more constitutionally than the British Government itself which became the successor of Mughals not through constitutional methods, but after an unconstitutional, bloody and wicked struggle–the claim of the Indian Princes to go out of its control has no constitutional stake.

There is another point which has been blurted out by British diehards times out of number. It was also repeated in the Indian Legislature when its members moved the resolution for further demands of Reforms. It was said "There are the Indian States..... They would like to know whether they will continue as hithertofore to deal with the Governor-General in Council who is responsible to British Parliament or with the Executive Government responsible to Indian Legislature."* But the question is, is the British

* See the speech delivered by Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Home Member, to explain the attitude of the Government on the motion of Mr. Rangachariar on constitutional advance.

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Government ready to have such question to be decided by the will of the persons concered, in other words to give the people the right of self-determination ? If so, the people of Indian States have stated in unequivocal language that they want their direct relation with British India and not with British Government as emphasised by Princes. In these circumstances, is British Government ready to have the handful of Indian Rulers under its protection and leave their people free to do their choice ? Besides, is British India willing to remain under their subjection even for 24 hours ?

* * * * *

But what is the motive behind this move ? It is said that the Government of British India is becoming increasingly responsible and representative day by day. Its power is passing into the hands of the people. This has naturally startled the Princes. They have been led to think and feel that their existence will be safer under the protection of the King-Emperor rather than under a republican Government. It is possible that some of the Indian Princes should have come to

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believe in this. But as it is well-known to every student of history that the King has no independent existence whatsoever. He is a toy in the hands of the Parliament. Moreover the Parliament is more representative of the people than the Government of India. It will remain so. The people of England too are more republican in spirit that those of India. Even die-hard Imperialists of England will not tolerate for a moment the barbarities and cruelties inflicted by our Indian Princes. Moreover there is every possibility of the Labour coming into power, while in India, even the day of a capitalistic republic seems still to be far off. After the theory of direct relationship with the Crown is accepted the Parliament will be directly responsible for the evils and virtues in the administrations of the Indian States. Will the Parliament make itself the laughing-stock in the eyes of the civilised world by keeping the Indian States as they are—the hot-beds of corruption, debauchery and barbarism. In short, if they are afraid of the advent of democracy it is useless. They can not escape it. Their salvation

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lies in adjusting themselves to and not in running away from it. Of course, one can understand it if their objective is only to raise their status equal to British India. Though then, too, they should remember, it is possible that the British Government may nominally raise them to some such status to serve its own ends; yet, in practice there will be no change whatsoever. England will have to rule this country, in all the cases, through the Government of India. They will not and can not introduce any new administrative machinery for the sake of the Indian Princes alone.

But the question remains where it was before. If no bargain can be made out of their herculean attempts, why these activities are encouraged by the British Imperialists ? Why have they given such a colour to this farce ? Does it mean that the British Crown or King-Emperor, by raising a new bulwark in the form of this direct alliance with the Princes, wants to aggrandise over Parliament ? Is it for this reason that so much emphasis is being laid on the relations with the Crown and not with the Parliament ? Is it a

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scheme to fight out the people of England and of this country and to have a new factory of armies at hand to crush them ? Is such a thing possible and practicable today ? Can the Statesmen of England and Crown become so degenerated ? And if so, will the British people tolerate it ? It is difficult to believe.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Fresh Manœuvres.

The Committee and the Scheme.

But we fear that neither Sir Leslie Scott and the Princes could present from the constitutional point of view such a scheme nor has the Butler Committee any authority to accept it. For, according to its terms of reference it is required only to enquire into the financial nnd economic relations between British India and the States. Thus, it, from its very terms of reference, is precluded to deal with the fundamental problem of framing a constitution for the political adjustment of British India and Indian States. But on the other hand, the scheme of Sir Leslie Scott deals mainly with the political aspect of the question.

And if this is done in direct contravention to the constitutional procedure, how are the people denied the right to represent their views. In reply to these objections there are two arguments which are advanced by the protaganists of the scheme. Firstly, that Government made treaties

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with the Princes and not with the people of the States. Secondly, that according to the treaties, the Crown and the Princes alone have certain mutual obligations and that it is the Princes alone who owe allegiance to, and consequently are entitled to protection from, the Crown and not the people. The people of Indian States come nowhere directly and hence they are denied the right of coming in as a party to this enquiry. Sir Harcourt Butler, the head of the so-called experts' committee has also denied this right on such grounds. But they are flimsy and absurd. Let us examine them one by one. To take up the argument of allegiance first, let us remind the the readers of the case of Manipur. The people of Manipur State rose in rebellion against their Ruler and with the help of the brother of the ruling Prince installed the heir-apparent on the gadi instead. The British Government recognised the new Ruler but demanded from him that his uncle, who helped the rebellion, should be punished. And when he refused to do so the British forces entered the territory and deposed him. The subjects of the State were

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warned through the proclamation that the subjects of Indian States owed direct allegiance and loyality to the British throne, meaning thereby that they have no right to go against the Crown even if their ruler wished them to do so. Thus it comes to this that the people of the States owe the same duties and allegiance to the Crown as those owed by the Princes and therefore the Government owes the same obligations of duty towards the people of the States as it owes towards the Princes. Sir Leslie Scott puts off this question by simply retorting that "the Manipur revolution which denies this (the international position of the States) must be strictly construed with reference to the circumstances of the case."

But we maintain that the claim of the people of the Indian States to be the equal partners with the Princes in all such matters is not only based upon such usages and isolated cases only, but on the constitutional rights conferred upon them by the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, which says "whereas for diverse weighty reasons we have resolved to take upon ourselves the Government of India we do by these pre-

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sents notify and declare that we have taken upon ourselves the said Government and we hereby call all upon all our *subjects* within the sad *territories* to be a faithful and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs *and successors*.....
.....

We hold ourselves bound *to the natives of our territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects*, and these obligations by the blessings of God Almighty *we shall faithfully and concienciously fulfil.*" And now, what do the words *India* and *territories* in the proclamation mean? According to Mr. Ilbert, *India* as defined by the Interpretation Act of 1889 (52 & 53 Vict. c. 63/s 18) and by the Indian General Clauses Act of 1897 (33.27) includes not only the territories comprised in British India, that is the territories under the direct sovereignty of the Crown, but also the territories of the dependent native States.*

Now from this it is evident that the duties and allegiance of the people of the States and

*See *Government of India.*

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the obligations towards the people of the States of the Crown are the same as those of the Princes and the Crown towards each other. Therefore the State or territory means the Princes and his people both and consequently in this enquiry they both must be given the equal rights and opportunities.

Besides, we would draw the attention of the readers towards the famous letter of Lord Reading addressed to Nizam and the explanation of the position of Indian States given by Mr. Ilbert in his *Government of India* in which the obligations of the Crown towards the subjects of the Indian States are clearly laid down.

Now coming to the other argument let it be said plainly that the majority of the people of the Indian States, in fact, do not consider these treaties as binding upon themselves. They argue and argue rightly that they have no binding force on those who have neither been parties there-to nor had at any time approved of them, especially in the 20th Century. The Government has no right to barter away their rights and

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privileges behind their back. But even if this be admitted then there seems to be no reason why the people of Indian States should not be given equal place and opportunities with the Princes in this enquiry. Which of these items, as for instance, Railways, Posts, Telegraph, Excise, Exchange, Monopolies of salt and opium, customs, tarrifs, etc., can be instanced whose burden does not fall solely on the pockets of the people of Indian States ? How many pennies do the Indian Princes contribute from their pockets towards these items ? If not, what rights and authority they have to reap the benifits accruing from them and to take part in the enquiry ? If this right of the Princes is conceded to, the people too have a right to think themselves free from all the obligations and allegiance to the Crown. They have the right even to rise and rebel against the British Goverment if necessary.

* * * * *

Now to come to the scheme proper. What good could be expected from a scheme that is worked out with such an angle of vision. And the same thing has come to pass in reality.

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It has ignored the people in a way as if there is no such thing as people of Indian States on the earth. Everything has been said of what the Princes want, but nothing of what they will do for their people. And why should they do so ? The people of the Indian States are so helpless and muzzled through the repressive laws and barbarous practices already mentioned that they can not cry even if they are murdered. Nay, they can not even run away to other territories to get rid of the intolerable conditions. Nor the public workers can help them or criticise the administration of the States adversely even in the territories of other States, If they venture to do so, a mere requisition from the police officers will suffice their extradition, no matter whether their utterances or activities warranted this or not. But the question is will and should the vigilant and intelligent people of Great Britain tolerate these things ? Will they not be digging their own grave if they accepted the demands of the Princes before they have secured for the people of the States, freedom of speech, meeting, association and action and their due share in the administration.

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Nor can it be said that the scheme has given something substantial to the Princes. A little critical study of it will tell that it is not only impracticable but also injurious to their interests. According to it the Princes will always remain toys in the hands of the British bureaucracy. For instance, the *Indian States Council* will be composed of three Princes, three Englishmen selected and sent direct from England and the Viceroy as its President. It means that the Indian Rulers will always be in minority and thus it is the white bureaucrats who will always gain. There are many other loop-holes in it which can drive a wedge between different Rulers and their interests and thus deprive them of what little benefit they may get otherwise.

But the worst is yet to come. This scheme is also meant to create a strong barricade against the rising tide of Indian Nationalism. It has quite unostentatiously added the most dangerous and mischievious sentence in the rules of the *Union Council* which says that its functions

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will be "the consideration of and action upon (a) the crown's obligations in regard to defence and foreign affairs....."*

Now this clause covers everything regarding Army and Foreign and Political Department. And who will form this Council. It will be composed of all the members of the *Indian States' Council* as described above and the members of the *Executive Council* of the Governor-General, who are, as a rule, mere spokesmen of bureaucracy and its interests. Even if there was complete Swaraj and all the members of the Executive elected it is hardly conceivable that they would have been given such a free hand in such vital and important matters. In other words, this clause means that India shall never get Swaraj.

Similarly, though the Union Supreme Court will be a joint creation of British Crown

* See *Leslie Scott's scheme Para 6 (a).*

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and the Indian Princes alone, the people of Indian States as well as of British India shall be given no hand in it. And though the Princes will be entitled to confer upon it the right of hearing appeals of their High Courts and thus increase their influence over it, yet its decisions will be binding over British India and the people of the Indian States. But the humonr of it is that though the Supreme Court will be given the right of hearing appeals from the High Courts of Indian States agreeing to do so, yet it will have no power to interfere in the judicial machinery of any States. But we must not lengthen this discussion any further. As regard the other aspects and effects of this scheme upon India, we can do no better than give here the opinion of Pandit Moti Lall Nehru, the leading statesman of today, in our country. Discussing the subject he says:—

"A friendly gesture of sympathy from the Ruling Princes is very welcome but before I can

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fully appreciate it I must know what is the exact place they are trying to find for themselves in the India of the future. The creation of constitutional means for the adjustment of relations between the States and British India conveys to my mind the creation of two Indias each independent of the other with some kind of machinery to avoid conflicts. It looks like two separate States having diplomatic relations with each other quite irrespective of the form of Government prevailing in each. How is this going to fit in with British India enjoying at any time even Dominion status, to say nothing of independence? The answer will probably be that independence is unthinkable and Dominion status a far cry. But unless I am right in thinking that the famous preamble to the Government of India Act pledging Great Britain to the progressive realisation of Responsible Government is a mere scrap of paper not bind-

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ing on future Parliaments it will have to be considered that Dominion status is not merely a possibility but a stage of development which Great Britain is in all honour bound to help India to reach as soon as possible. If this is so, the right policy for the Princes to adopt is to prepare themselves to form an integral part of the India of the future taking steps at the same time to protect the special rights and prerogatives they claim. But the resolutions show that what they are clearly aiming at is to form themselves into entirely separate entities having nothing in common with each other or with British India. This is made quite clear by the authoritative interpretation of the resolutions that they are intended as a message to British India but there is nothing in the policy of the Princes which need be in any way antagonistic to the development of British India *on its own lines.* I find it impossible to conceive the development of the

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Indian States on any lines other than those adopted for British India in any scheme intended to give Dominion status to the latter even in the distant future. If this is not so what is to be the constitution and form of Government of the Indian States when British India becomes a Dominion? Is it to be uniform in all the States big and small or is it to take as many forms as there are States? Are the States to treat jointly in the common interests of all or individually each in its own interests with the Dominion of India? What is to determine the relations of the States *interests*? Are they all to enter into treaties with each other as well as with India as a Dominion? If not, on what basis will the proposed Union Court decide disputes arising between the States *interests* on the one hand and between the States and the Dominion of India on the other?

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"The only possible answer to these questions is that no closer union between British India and the States is contemplated and that there are to be no direct dealings between the States and British India or between the States *inter se*. This in other words means that British India is is never to have Dominion status and Great Britain is for ever to continue to be our lord having the destinies of both in her own hands.

"The Princes may pride themselves in having a policy of their own and try to carry it out. The fact is that it is the policy of the British Government which either consciously or unconsciously they are adopting as their own. That policy is clearly foreshadowed by the appointment of an enquiry committee for the States, and a statutory commission for British India each to conduct its on investigations on its own terms of reference independently of the other. The first fruit of that policy is that the Princes have

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been induced to say to the British India 'Go ahead on your lines. We have nothing to do with you and will proceed on our own.'

"Putting myself in the place of the British cabinet, I would argue it out something like this:—'Let us keep British India occupied with controversy over the Simon Commission and meanwhile see that a permanent and impenetrable barrier is created between British India and the States leaving both at our mercy. The princes with no political insight and jealous of their own prerogatives would be alarmed at the political activities of British India and welcome any proposal which would appear to secure to them their present rank, dignity and freedom in the internal affairs of their States under the protection of the strong arm of Great Britain. The vexed question whether the States are constitutionally in alliance with the British Crown or the Government of India will be automatically solved by the Princes

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accepting the proposals and recommendations of the Bulter Committee which will form a fresh basis of future relation between them and Great Britain. It is not expected that the recommendations of the Simon Commission will go any higher near the grant of Dominion status to British India, but the demand for it is so insistent that it is wise to have an effective weapon at ready at hand to kill it. This weapon will be the so-called sovereign Rights of the Princes and the treaty obligations of Great Britain under the new arrangements brought about by the States enquiry committee making it incumbent on Great Britain to retain control of the army and some other important departments in her own hand and thus make it impossible for India to achieve Dominion Status.'

"The only flaw in the above argument is that there are four essential parties to any possible scheme of the future Government of India. The

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British Government, the people of British India, the Rulers of Indian States and the people of those states but the last of these essential parties numbering millions has been entirely ignored. All that the Princes promise their own people is the "Rule of Law" a very much abused and, if I may say so, prostituted phrase of the English language. There can be no rule of law in the modern world where there is no rule of the people. In the States as they are at present constituted the only rule of law is the will of the Princes. Is it conceivable that the people of these States fired by the same ambitions and aspirations as the people in British India will quietly submit to such a rule for any length of time, or that the people in British India having the closest ties of family, race and religion with them will aquiesce in their brethren on the other side of an imaginary line being governed by little autocrats while they themselves enjoy some kind of responsible Government ?

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"The policy I have described may seem to be useful for the time being but is in the long run bound to leave all the parties concerned much worse of than they are at present. In fact it can only form the starting point of a new and more serious conflict than anything that we have yet seen.

"True statesmanship would seem unmistakably to point to a cause which would enable the four essential parties referred to above to make common cause and work together. So far as the Princes are concerned it is not only true statesmanship but in their best interest to take their own people and the people of British India into their confidence and through them to secure their special rights and privileges which will otherwise never be safe, most certainly not if the people come into their own inspite of the Princes."

Thus the reader will see that this scheme is nothing but mischief incarnate. It is a design to

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guillotine the freedom of the starving millions of India. The nominal international status that is being attempted to be given to the Indian rulers who had really been mere feudatories is a mere trap to entice the Princes. Hence nothing should be done in this connection but after mature considerations and deep deliberations. The people of the Indian States even though in such a miserable condition, yet have given their verdict in an unequivocal language. The resolutions of their only representative institution—the All India States' Peoples' Conference—have already been given above. Other responsible and representative bodies like Mysore State Congress, Kerala Political Conference, Janjira State Conference, Fifth Karnatic Political Conference etc. have also passed similar resolutions.

From all these resolutions the verdict of the people will become clearly manifest. The other

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day one of the Princes said in England "We have every sympathy with the aspirations of British India: we are not against them. But we stand for evolution and not for revolution." Some other Princes have also tried to throw cold waters on the growing agitation against their demands by showing their disagreement with the scheme framed by Sir Leslie Scott,

But this should deceive no one for all that they say is that they agree with its aim and fundamentals and not with its details. In other words, they agree in dividing India into so many water-tight compartments and in establishing direct relation with the Crown. In such circumstances their disagreement has no value. Therefore as far as we are concerned we will like to sound a note of warning, not to the Princes alone but also to the British Government and it is this:—"that we too

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stand for evolution but it is not the mere talk of evolution that will satisfy us. If the Government and the Princes will persist in their folly and will accept the present scheme in any of its form, without fulfiling their obligations towards their people and without giving them elementary rights of citizenship and their due share in the administration; they are, whether they may wish it or not, bound to be met with revolutions after revolutions and it is quite probable that like Temoor and Alamgir their memories, will be written not with the golden ink of peace but with the dark curdling torrents of human blood. The people of Indian States, if they are not mere lump of clay, if they are not mere dumb driven cattle to be sacrificed at the alter of the cruel Molach of British Imperialism and if they feel it derogatory to their self-respect, honour and manhood to be conceived as mere hired assasins of not only their own

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freedom but also of India's rising Nationalism and international peace and amity, will rather prepare themselves for the worst than allow this traitorous scheme to be executed and forced upon them against their will.

THE END

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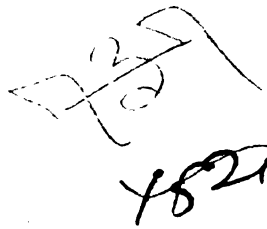

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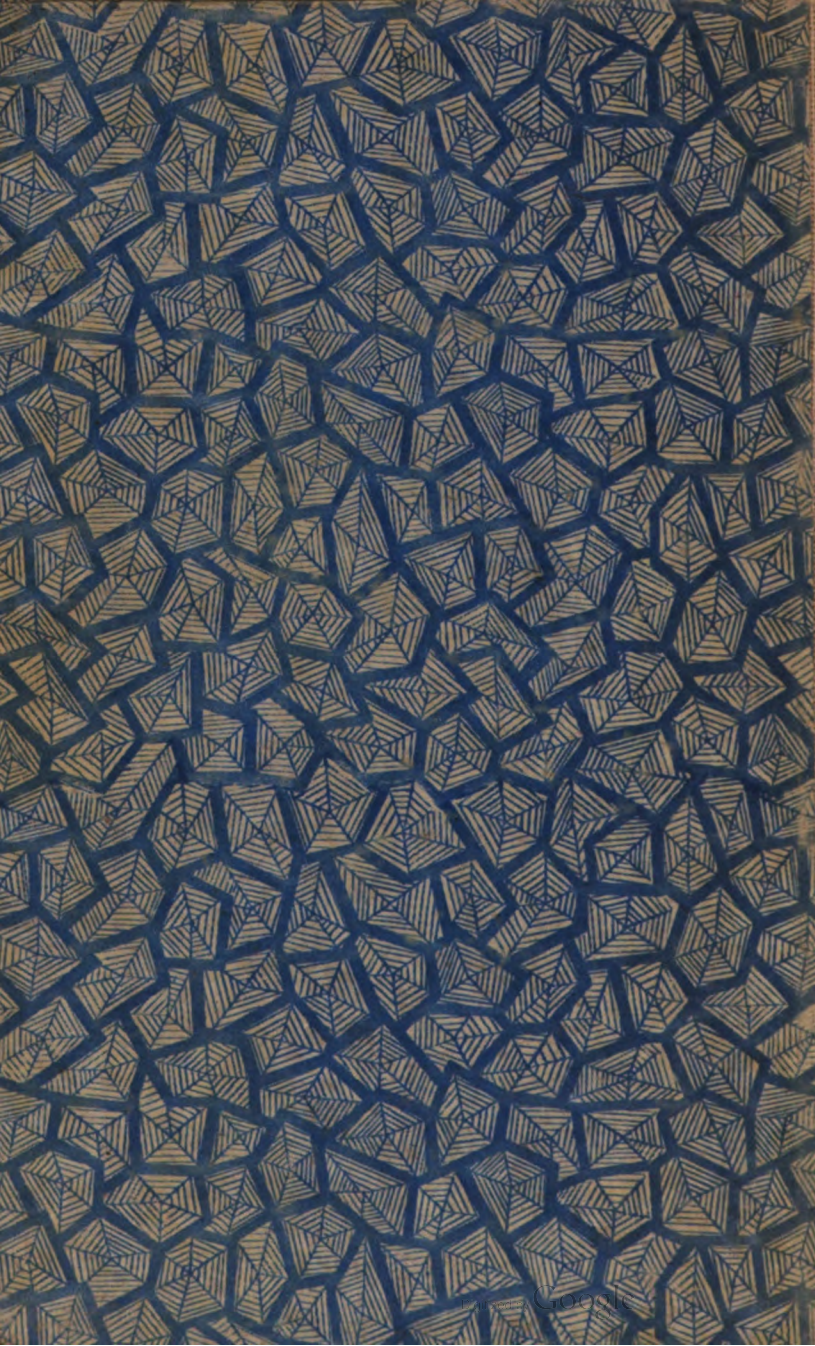
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